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MARCH/APRIL 2016
SOCRATES ON TRIAL
THE NOBLE DEATH OF A GREAT MIND

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Choosing the cover image for this issue

was a deceptively challenging task. Pirates occupy such a colorful place in the popular imagination that finding an image seemed easy, at first. But it turns out that fictional representations of a pirate's life are plentiful. Something as compelling but true to life is scarce.

Luckily, the photo archives of the National Geographic Society came through. What you see on the cover, a photograph of a replica of Sir Francis Drake's galleon the *Golden Hind*, first ran in a 1975 issue of *National Geographic* as part of a story called "Sir Francis Drake: Queen Elizabeth's Favorite Sea Dog." A great read, the article details the life and many accomplishments of "the Dragon," or El Draque as he was known by his enemies, the Spanish.

Sir Francis Drake's story embodies one of the most complicated aspects in the study of history: perspective. To England, Drake is a dashing hero. To Spain, El Draque is a dangerous criminal. These different points of view enrich the story by showing that Drake can be both hero and scoundrel, both conqueror and thief. It is these opposing perspectives that render the exploration of the past into such an immersive and fascinating search for the truth.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

PHOTO: GORDON GAHAN

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CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS WARD PLATT

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS SUSAN GOLDBERG

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC
HISTORY
VOL. 2 NO. 1

RISING AND FALLING for 5,000 miles, the Great Wall was the culmination of China's long struggle to defend its northern border.

Features

18 Akhenaten's Failed Revolution
His monotheistic sun cult was erased by his successors. But intriguing traces of Akhenaten's religious and cultural revolution managed to endure.

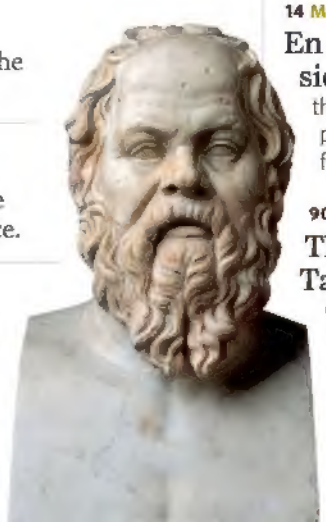
30 The Rise of the Great Wall
Built to repel the tribes of the steppes, the Ming-era wall is a symbol both of China's might and the vulnerability of its vast northern frontier.

44 Socrates on Trial
Condemned by an Athenian jury, Socrates' noble death inspired some of the earliest and most influential writings in Western thought.

54 Last Days of Rome
After Visigoths sacked the capital in 410, the fall of the western Roman Empire was only a matter of time.

66 The Golden Age of Piracy
Blackbeard and his ilk terrorized the Caribbean in the 1700s. Pirate fact and myth have been fused ever since.

78 Building the White House
The iconic residence took shape against the backdrop of the first, turbulent decades of the United States.



SOCRATES PHILOSOPHICAL IN LIFE, AND DEATH

Departments

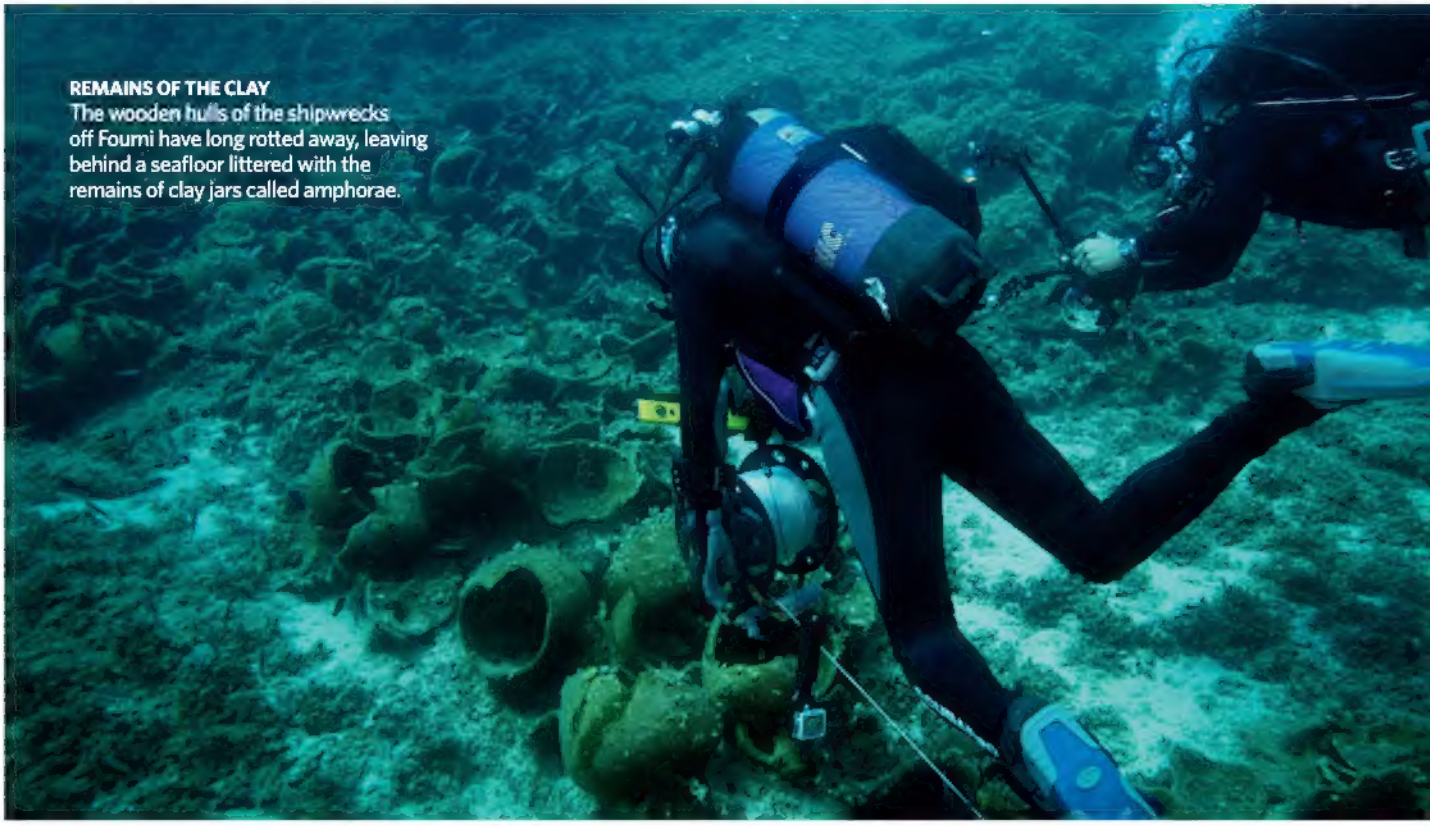
4 NEWS

6 PROFILES
Emperor Elagabalus shocked Rome with his rebellious behavior, in a reign as scandalous as it was short.

10 DAILY LIFE
Duels raged in the war-torn France of the 1600s, the clash of rapiers continuing in Paris streets long after laws were passed to ban civilian combat.

14 MILESTONES
En route to Botany Bay, sick and underfed, the convicts penned into Britain's prison ships would become the first white settlers of Australia.

90 DISCOVERIES
The mummies of the Taklimakan Desert in China have perfectly preserved European features. Where did these people come from?



REMAINS OF THE CLAY
The wooden hulls of the shipwrecks off Fourni have long rotted away, leaving behind a seafloor littered with the remains of clay jars called amphorae.

RICH CARGO
DNA analysis of the Fourni amphorae is expected to confirm that most contained olive oil, wine, and *garum*, a fish sauce that was a popular ancient condiment. Smaller jars may have contained jams, honey, nuts such as hazlenuts and almonds, and luxuries like perfumes.

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY

Loose Lips Locate Ships! Amazing Aegean Discovery

Local fishermen and divers led archaeologists to the wreckage sites of an astounding 22 ancient shipwrecks near Greece's Fourni islands.

Historians have long known the eastern Aegean is teeming with shipwrecks, and local fishermen and sponge divers helped them find them. Acting on tips from these locals, a joint Greece-United States expedition team made one of the top archaeological finds of 2015: 22 shipwrecks.

"We expected a successful season," said George Koutsouflakis, director of the expedition off the tiny Fourni archipelago, "but no one was prepared for this. Shipwrecks were found literally everywhere." Adding 12 percent to the total of known ancient wrecks in Greek waters in only two weeks, of the 22 craft found, more than half are from the late Roman era.

The "newest" vessel found dates to the 1500s, and the oldest is thought to have sunk some time between 650 and 480 B.C., the period in which the political and philosophical innovations of ancient Greece were taking shape. Centuries of trade between Greece and Turkey, and southern areas of the Mediterranean as far afield as Egypt, turned the Aegean into one of the great shipping corridors of the classical world.

Expedition members estimate dozens more ancient wrecks may lie in Fourni's hazardous reef-strewn waters, a vivid reminder that the ancient trade in olive oil, wine, and fish sauce could be lethal as well as lucrative. The boats themselves rotted long

BELOW THE AQUAMARINE waves of the Aegean, divers on a joint Greek-U.S. expedition investigated an ancient wreck near the Greek archipelago of Fourni. The rich variety of storage jugs, known as amphorae (above), found during the two-week project are shedding light on trade patterns in the ancient Greek and Roman eras. Equipped with the latest in navigational technology the team (below) nevertheless relied on Fourni's local fishermen to locate the wreckage sites of the 22 ships.

PHOTOS: V. MENTOGIANIS

MEDITERRANEAN SUPPLY CHAIN

ANCIENT CARGO BOATS were physical manifestations of the cultural diversity of the ancient Mediterranean world they supplied. The materials used to build one vessel might come from many places: wood from Lebanon, and other components from Greece or modern-day Israel. The cargo hailed from many places as well. An amphora's shape often reveals its origins. In the Fourni find, rare teardrop-shaped containers are thought to come from the Greek island of Samos, and may date from as early as 650 B.C. Long, narrow amphorae from Sinop, in modern-day Turkey, date from the third to seventh centuries A.D.

AMPHORAE ARE LOADED ONTO A TYPICAL ANCIENT GREEK CARGO BOAT. THE RE-CREATION IS BASED ON A WRECK FOUND OFF THE COAST OF CYPRUS, DATED TO THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.—AROUND THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

ILLUSTRATION: LLOYD K. TOWNSEND, JR.

ago. But the surviving cargoes of two-handled jars, known as amphorae, offer valuable insights into the trading and seafaring patterns of the ancient Mediterranean.

According to expedition member Peter Campbell, the styles of amphorae found are of particular interest. Co-director of the U.S. RPM Nautical Foundation, partnering with Greece's Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities in the project, Campbell believes the finds are significant: "We knew that some of these amphora types existed from fragmentary evidence on land," he said, "but we'd never found them as a wreck before." For Campbell, and other members of the expedition, the amphorae not only help fill the gaps in our knowledge of highly complex maritime trading routes, but also shed light on the wider geopolitical convulsions that took place across the Mediterranean. A large number of late Roman wrecks mark the rise of Constantinople and the decline of the western Roman Empire in the fourth century A.D., for example.

The artifacts will provide researchers with much to analyze. "What is astonishing is the diversity of the cargoes, some of which have been found for the first time," said Koutsouflakis, who called the Fourni haul "a once-in-a-lifetime discovery." Finding 22 shipwrecks in two weeks is rare, but more discoveries in the area are likely—the team has surveyed only 5 percent of Fourni's coasts, and local fishermen have given them many more tips.

Elagabalus: The Wild One

Known for decadent revels, capricious cruelty, and religious desecration, Elagabalus embodied the worst excesses of the Roman Empire. His reign was short, but its impact lasted for centuries.

A Fast Rise and a Fast Fall

217

Caracalla is assassinated, and the young Varius Avitus Bassianus (a cousin of the murdered emperor) is confined in Syria by General Macrinus, Caracalla's usurper.

218

Bassianus is proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions at age 14, thanks to the machinations of his grandmother Julia Maesa. His military forces defeat Macrinus at Antioch.

219

The new emperor arrives in Rome and imposes the cult of the Syrian deity Elah-Gabal, of which he is high priest. His unofficial name, Elagabalus, derives from the god's name.

222

Alexander, Elagabalus's cousin, arrives in Rome. Elagabalus wants him killed, but is stabbed to death by the Praetorian Guard.

The man who became infamous as Elagabalus was born Varius Avitus Bassianus in Emesa, the city of Homs in Syria today. There he served as high priest of the sun god Elah-Gabal, a local form of the god Baal.

At age 14, Bassianus became emperor of Rome and assumed the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus in A.D. 218. From that moment, his short, chaotic reign would scandalize Rome. Lurid sexual encounters, extravagant stunts and parties, and, in a dramatic break with Roman tradition, forced worship of Elah-Gabal in spectacular public rituals marked his four years on the throne. An emblem of Roman decadence, an aura of fascination clings to this teenage emperor who, because of his association with the cult of Elah-Gabal, came to be known as Elagabalus.

The accounts of his life spill into the fantastical. But while the stories about him are, without doubt, exaggerated, they have continued to inspire art, literature, and drama down to the present day. Much of the information on Elagabalus is drawn from a collection of biographies of emperors known as the *Augustan History*. The section on the teenage emperor is supposedly written by one Aelius Lampridius. Modern historians not only cast a great deal of doubt on his account, but also consider that Aelius is an assumed name. Whoever the writer really was, his tone was decidedly sensationalist: "The life of Elagabalus Antoninus, also called Varius, I should never have put in writing—hoping that it might not be known that he was emperor of the Romans."

Path to Power

What historians know with certainty is that, in spite of his birth in distant Syria, Elagabalus belonged to the highly influential Severan dynasty, which dominated Roman politics at the end of the second century and beginning of the third. Under the African emperor Septimius Severus and his wife, the Syrian Julia Domna, Rome enjoyed a long period of stability from 193 to 211. But this gave way to growing tensions during the reign of his successor Caracalla.

In 217 a soldier assassinated Caracalla, and a usurper, General Macrinus, took his place. Macrinus was a mere praetor, a judicial official, with little political experience. He turned out to be an incompetent general, too, leading his army to defeat against the Parthians,

Julia Maesa, Elagabalus's grandmother, brought about the return of the Severan dynasty.

JULIA MAESA, THIRD-CENTURY MARBLE BUST

ALINARI/CORDON PRESS

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

A DELIGHT FOR THE SENSES

THE *AUGUSTAN HISTORY* is the primary source for most of the sensual extravagances associated with Elagabalus's reign, providing details like: "Indeed, for him life was nothing except a search after pleasures . . . He used to strew roses and all manner of flowers, such as lilies, violets, hyacinths, and narcissus, over his banqueting-rooms, his couches and his porticoes, and then stroll about in them. He would refuse to swim in a pool that was not perfumed with saffron . . . And he could not rest easily on cushions that were not stuffed with rabbit fur or feathers from under the wings of partridges."

ROSE OF YOUTH. LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA'S WORK SHOWS GUESTS OF ELAGABALUS BEING SHOWERED WITH A SEA OF ROSE PETALS.

Rome's great enemy in the Middle East. Macrinus's popularity took another hit when he signed an ignominious peace treaty with Parthia, leading to more discontent among his eastern troops. But Macrinus's biggest error was underestimating just how much Caracalla's family wanted to return to power.

Grandmother, Puppetmaster

Julia Maesa, sister-in-law to Septimius Severus, had an unmatched talent for intrigue and political maneuvering. To put her family back on the throne, she conspired to have Macrinus overthrown. In his place, she suggested a new heir: her teenage grandson Bassianus. To strengthen his claim to the throne, Julia spread the rumor that he was Caracalla's illegitimate son. Young Bassianus did bear a striking family resemblance to Caracalla, although he was, in fact, just a cousin. To further back her play, Julia bribed the Roman troops stationed in Syria to secure their support.

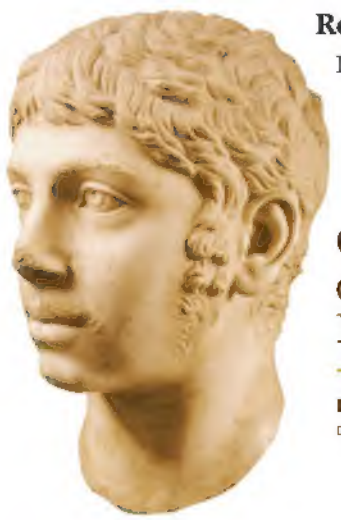
Around this time, Bassianus had inherited his family's position as high priest and was worshipping the god Elah-Gabal in his home city in Syria. According to one account, he captured the attention of the Roman soldiers stationed there. Allegedly they would come to the temple to see him, both fascinated by and attracted to his good looks that he further enhanced by wearing costly jewelry and trinkets.

Backed by the military and false claims of parentage, Julia Maesa managed to get her way. Bassianus was presented to the centurion Publius Valerius Comazon and his troops. Fully convinced of his good Severan credentials, they proclaimed

BIGGEST FAN Elagabalus idolized the strength, speed, and beauty of charioteers, as depicted in this third-century mosaic from Sicily.

DAGLI ORTI/ART ARCHIVE

Bassianus the new emperor of Rome. The other eastern legions were quick to follow in recognizing him. A eunuch who served as Bassianus's tutor, Gannys, would become a general, and would defeat Macrinus in Antioch, in modern-day Turkey, less than a month later. After the usurper's capture and execution, Julia Maesa's victory was secure.



Rebel, Rebel

Despite the lure of imperial life in Rome, the new emperor made his own rules with no regard for Roman customs and culture. He refused to adopt the traditional gods of Rome and abandon his own. Instead, he stayed faithful to his cult of Elah-Gabal and brought a statue of the god with him on the nearly 2,000-mile journey from Syria to Rome.

Utterly unconcerned with doing what was politically appropriate or diplomatic, the new emperor, soon known as Elagabalus, built a temple to the Syrian deity on Palatine Hill. Despite being emperor, he continued in his role as high priest throughout his reign. Cows, sheep, and—according to the more sensational accounts— even humans, were sacrificed in honor of Elah-Gabal. Accounts say that the finest wines were mixed with sacrificial blood and poured out as offerings.

> On one occasion, Elagabalus dressed as a woman and rallied Rome's prostitutes in the Forum.

ELAGABALUS, THIRD-CENTURY MARBLE BUST

DAGLI ORTI/ART ARCHIVE

Elagabalus showed no respect to any religious cult other than his own. He even profaned the House of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum by taking one of the sacred virgins as his wife. "There is nothing more appropriate than the marriage of a priest to a priestess," he told a stunned Senate. This act, probably more than any other, shocked Rome to the core.

The scandals and excesses of the emperor apparently knew no bounds. In one account he is said to have amazed the Roman people with his naumachiae, simulated naval battles held in the Circus Maximus, with ships floating on wine to evoke the "wine-dark sea" of Homer's *Odyssey*. Just as impressive were the elaborate processions in which chariots pulled by elephants, tigers, and lions scaled the Vatican Hill, trampling any tomb that lay in their path.

At his banquets, and while presiding at games, the *Augustan History* relates, Elagabalus hugely enjoyed distributing presents or "chances" to the populace. One day it might be a fine piece of steak, another day a dead dog, or hundreds of gold coins, so that he could amuse himself watching the people scramble for them. The same source also relates how he might, on a whim, serve "food" made of wax, wood, stone, or marble. Once he is said to have rained down so many flower petals on his dinner guests that they almost suffocated.

Above all, Elagabalus had a reputation for giving free rein to his sexual impulses and took many lovers of both sexes. "He never had intercourse with the same woman twice except with his wife," the *Augustan History* relates, "and he opened brothels in his house for his friends, his clients, and his slaves."

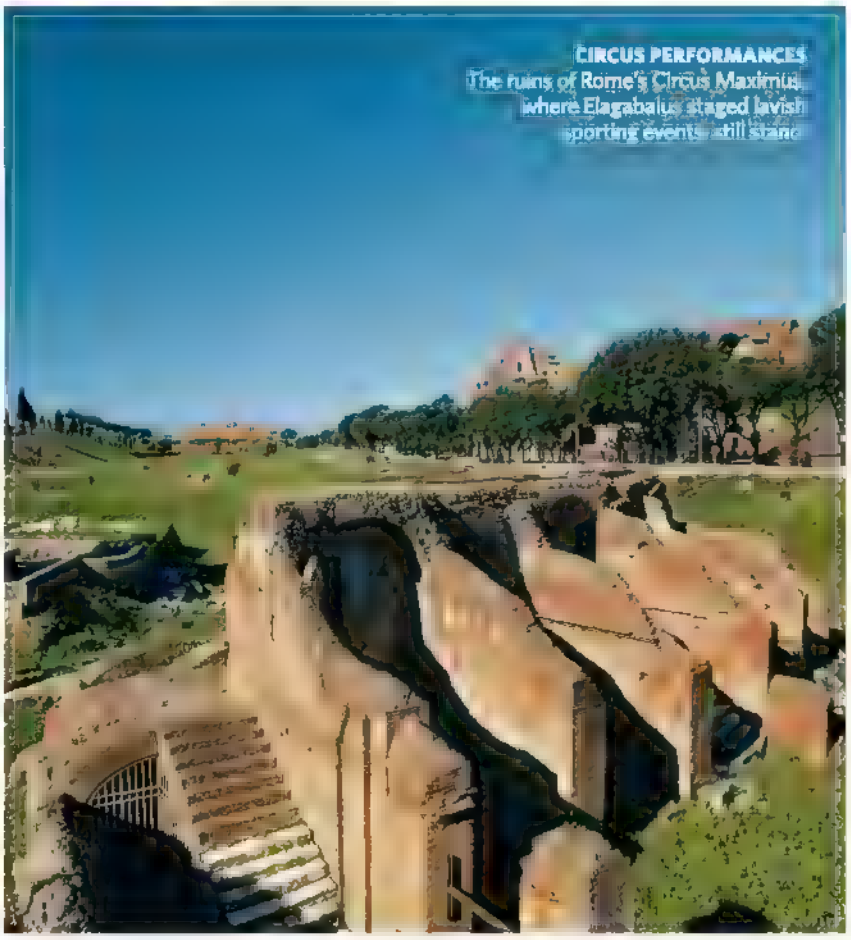
On one occasion he gathered all the city's prostitutes in the Forum and appeared before them "in a woman's costume and with protruding bosom." He then proceeded to harangue the assembled crowd as if giving orders to ranks of soldiers. He instructed them in sex-

GOD OF THE MOUNTAIN

IN EMESA, modern-day Homs in Syria, a conical black monolith called Elah-Gabal—"god of the mountain"—was venerated. During Elagabalus's reign, it was assimilated with the Roman god Sol Invictus. On coins, the stone figure is adorned with crowns and garlands and escorted by an eagle, symbol of his celestial power.

ELAH-GABAL ON A THIRD-CENTURY COIN FROM ANTIOCH

BPK/SCALA, FIRENZE



CIRCUS PERFORMANCES The ruins of Rome's Circus Maximus, where Elagabalus staged lavish sporting events, still stand.

ATLANTIDE PHOTOTRAVEL/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

ual practices and spurred them on, promising generous prizes if they complied with his bizarre demands.

The most coveted positions of state were held by the charioteers, athletes, and slaves whose job it was to satisfy Elagabalus's carnal needs. The emperor had a particular fondness for Hierocles, a charioteer whom he called "husband." Elagabalus kept many other lovers besides Hierocles, however, and would deliberately allow himself to be discovered with other favorites in the hope of being "punished" with a beating from Hierocles.

Elagabalus opened up the imperial baths to the public so that he could enjoy watching the users bathe naked. He had his servants scour the streets and ports in search of men who seemed particularly virile. They came across Aurelius Zoticus, an athlete from Smyrna, who apparently fit the bill. Escorted by a large imperial guard, exceeding that provided even for visiting dignitaries, Zoticus arrived at the palace for his assignation with the emperor. But the charioteer Hierocles, fearing he was about to be usurped in Elagabalus's affections, bribed the imperial cupbearers to administer a drug to Zoticus that robbed him of his legendary prowess. Elagabalus's behavior outraged Rome, from the Praetorian Guard to the Senate to the common people.

Julia Strikes Again

A Syrian oracle had once warned Elagabalus that he should expect a short life and violent death. Preferring the idea of killing himself to that of being assassinated, the emperor stockpiled silver daggers and poison. He even had a very tall tower built and decorated with gold and diamonds so that should the critical moment arrive he could throw himself to his death. Elagabalus, who would wear nothing but Chinese silk next to his skin, was adamant in his wish to die in style.

Despite such lavish preparations, his end was brutal and inglorious. Just as she had engineered the beginning of his career, Julia Maesa masterminded the end of Elagabalus's controversial rule. She convinced him to adopt his 12-year-old cousin Alexander as successor, who rapidly became popular across Roman society. Alarmed, Elagabalus plotted to have him killed, but news of the assassination plot triggered a military revolution.

Siding with the young Alexander, Julia looked on as her 18-year-old grandson was stabbed to death by his soldiers. Elagabalus's body was tossed into the Tiber where it was carried by the waters from the Cloaca Maxima sewer, passing into history as the stereotype of the decadent, mad Roman emperor.

—Juan Pablo Sánchez

En Garde! Duel Citizens

In 17th-century France insults could be deadly. Gentlemen fought duels to protect their reputations from slights and slander, but these encounters could often erupt into bloody street violence, leading the practice to be banned despite enduring popularity.

On May 12, 1627, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Count of Bouteville and the Marquis of Beuvron met in a Paris square, for the express purpose of defending their honor. A skilled swordsman, the 27-year-old Bouteville was a veteran of many duels and had killed at least half of his opponents. One of his victims had been a relative of Beuvron, who spent months trying to arrange a duel with the count for vengeance.

The two men removed their coats, and fought, first with a sword and dagger and then with a dagger alone. Their duel ended with a grapple, each holding a dagger at the other's throat—at which point, both men decided to stop. Even so, blood would indeed be spilled that day: Their friends, witnessing the duel, had become embroiled in a scuffle that left one of them dead and the other seriously wounded. Although duels had the air of formality, they too often descended into chaos and bloodshed.

Affairs of Honor

The cry of *En garde!* and the sound of drawing swords was common in Paris and other French cities. The custom was widespread in other countries, but France seems to have been the dueling capital of Europe. Affairs of honor were so ingrained in the national consciousness that they appear in some of France's most iconic stories, such as *The Three Musketeers,* written in 1844 by Alexandre Dumas and set in the swashbuckling 17th century.

Duels took many forms. Sometimes they sprang from a chance encounter without any formal preparation. For example, in 1613, the Chevalier de Guise was walking along Rue St.-Honoré in Paris when he happened to spot a man, the Baron of Luz, who had spoken badly of Guise's father. Guise dismounted, drew his sword, and called on the baron to do likewise. The baron was an old man and barely able to defend himself against the young and impetuous Guise, who killed the baron with a single thrust. Even by the standards of the day, this encounter resembled murder more than a duel.

THE LETHAL RAPIER

THROUGHOUT THE 16TH CENTURY a key change took place in the type of sword used in civilian combat. The old type of sword was heavy and slow, causing opponents to fence one another as if in battle. It was discarded for the rapier. Light, elegant, and pointed, rapier blades were thinner and longer—sometimes reaching three feet in length—able to inflict ever more lethal wounds.

FRENCH SWORD, CIRCA 1665-1670

IN BROAD DAYLIGHT
Market vendors go about their business while two duelers fight, exhorted by their seconds, on the Pont Neuf in Paris. Detail from an anonymous 17th-century painting. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

A Matter of Skill . . . and Honor

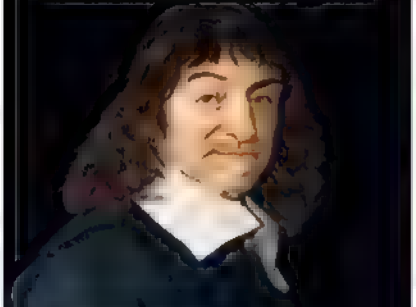
A FRENCH NOBLEMAN, the future Cardinal of Retz, recounts how, age 20, he challenged a man with whom he was competing for a lady's affections. His vivid account of the duel reveals how he managed to satisfy honor and emerge unscathed:

"We fought the next morning. After launching a thrust at me that brushed past my chest, he passed over me [i.e., he advanced with his left foot to catch and disarm him]; he threw me to the ground and would have been at a complete advantage had he not dropped his sword when he grabbed me. I tried to pick up my own sword to stick it in his kidneys but as he was stronger, he crushed my arm and I was unable. We stayed that way until he said, 'Let's get up. There is no honor in a fistfight. You are brave young man and have my esteem. You can say I gave you no reason to fight me.'"

A series of rituals were usually associated with duels. One of these was the preliminary challenge. When a man's honor had been offended, he could challenge the offender to a duel by speaking to him, slapping him, or sending him a written message. For example, after burying his father, the Baron of Luz's son sent his squire to Guise's house to present him with a card that read: "Monsieur, you are hereby invited to do me the honor of

THE THINKING DUELIST

LIKE MANY NOBLEMEN of his time, the great philosopher René Descartes had mastered the art of fencing and once fought a memorable duel. It took place when he was in the company of a lady he was courting, and a rival suitor attacked him as they walked together. Chivalry won the day: After disarming him, Descartes returned the man's sword to him, saying, "You owe your life to this lady for whom I have just risked my own."



RENÉ DESCARTES (1596–1650) PORTRAIT BY FRANS HALS

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

PLACE DES VOSGES IN PARIS, A SQUARE BUILT BETWEEN 1605 AND 1612, AND THE SCENE OF THE FAMOUS DUEL BE... BOUTEVILLE AND DEUX... IN 1627

MYLOUPE/UIG/GETTY IMAGES

meeting me, with sword in hand, to receive justice for the death of my father. This gentleman [the squire] will take you to the place where I await you with a good horse and two swords of which you may choose the one you prefer." The duel took place. Having killed the father, Guise then killed the son.

Duels often took place on the outskirts of town where the authorities would not interfere. In Paris, an area near the Seine known as the Pré aux Clercs was well known as a popular spot for dueling. But affairs of honor could also take place in the city. In the 1630s Cardinal Richelieu complained that "duels have become so common in France that the streets are turning into battlefields."

Rules of Combat

A series of informal rules regarding clothing and weapons ensured the honor of all participants. Duelists often fought in shirtsleeves with their chests exposed to a rival's sword. While prohibited from wearing armor, some combatants attempted to wear protection concealed in their clothes

The most popular weapons of choice were swords, specifically rapiers. These elegant instruments did not cause mutilations or disfigure the rival's face—they were, however, the most lethal of all swords. Although firearms were considered contrary to the aristocratic ideal of personal bravery, many cases of duels with pistols are recorded, especially later in the 17th century

A new feature of duels in the 17th century was the presence of seconds. These men not only accompanied the duelists and made sure the rules were followed, but also could—as in the Bouteville case—end up fighting each other, too. When a second defeated his rival, he could even go to the aid of the duelist he was accompanying, creating a situation of two against one. This action

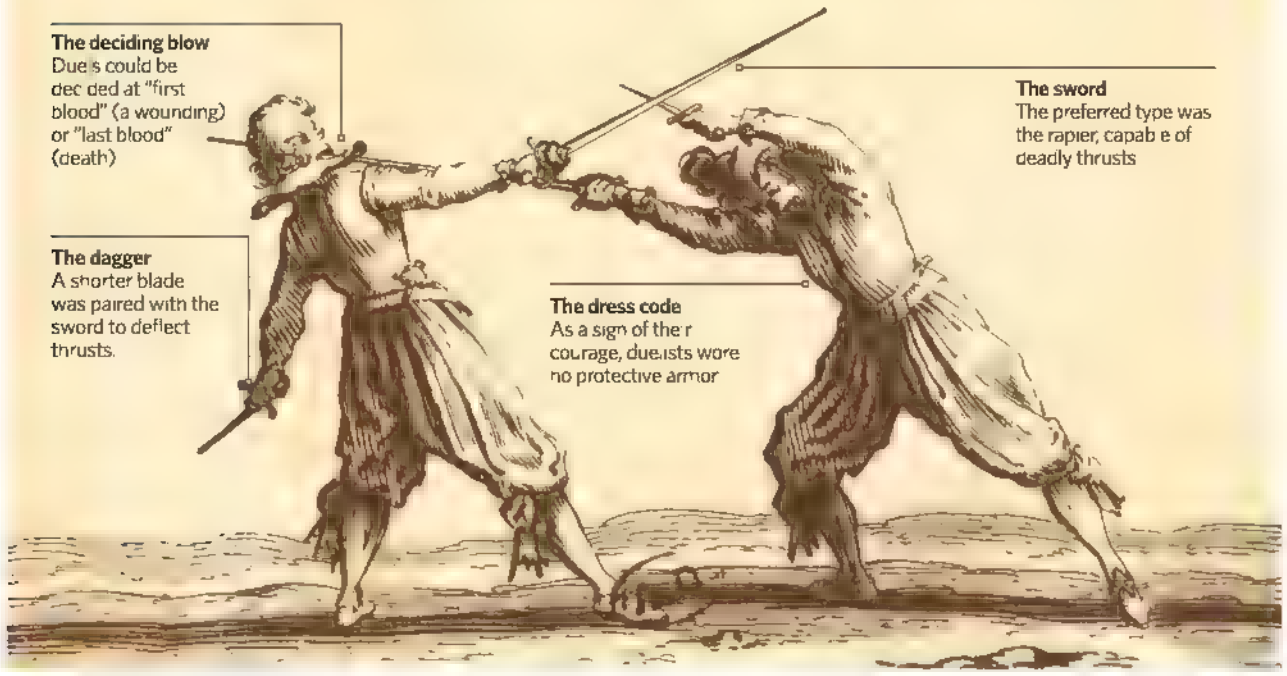
In 1662 Louis XIV issued a series of decrees to put an end to the raging violence—*la fureur*—of dueling.

CEILING DECORATION FROM THE GALLERY OF MIRRORS IN THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

The Art of the Duel

THE GREAT FRENCH PRINTMAKER Jacques Callot made a series of engravings in the first part of the 17th century that chronicled the life of his period. Entitled "Caprices," the series included several pictures of men dueling. The images are notable for their high level of realism, not flinching from the blood and violence of such spectacles.


The deciding blow
Duels could be decided at "first blood" (a wounding) or "last blood" (death)
The dagger
A shorter blade was paired with the sword to deflect thrusts.
The dress code
As a sign of their courage, duelists wore no protective armor
The sword
The preferred type was the rapier, capable of deadly thrusts

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

did run counter to the notion of settling scores between two men. Writing in the second half of the 16th century, the great essayist Michel de Montaigne noted: "'Tis also a kind of cowardice that has introduced the custom of seconds, thirds and fourths ... they were formerly duels; they are now skirmishes."

In spite of the potential for chaos introduced by seconds, alternatives to fighting existed that could both satisfy honor and prevent tragedy. In addition to the opportunity for reconciliation before crossing swords, duelists could accept satisfaction from the moment one of them slightly wounded the other in duels to "first blood." Sometimes fights were a farce to save face and the two opponents might accept satisfaction after exchanging a couple of blows. But many duels ended with the death of one of the participants. From information provided by a mid-17th-century French chronicler, Tallemant des Réaux, it can be calculated that, of the hundred or so duels and challenges he describes, more than a third did not take place because prior agreement had been reached. Of the duels that did go ahead, half ended in the death of one or more combatant

Out of Favor

Other historians have calculated that during the reign of Henry IV of France (1589-1610) around 10,000 duels took place in the country, involving 20,000 duelists, 4,000 or 5,000 of whom lost their lives. Some "duelists" used the ritual as a cover for butchery. A certain Chevalier d'Andrieux, for instance, killed 72 men until he was tried and executed.

Increasingly, throughout the 17th century, the authorities had reason for concern at the proliferation of such spectacles. Legislation against dueling became ever stricter, in spite of the fondness some had for this tradition. Bouteville, for instance, was arrested straight after his duel with Beuvron, and Cardinal Richelieu had him sentenced to death. King Louis XIV later issued edicts banning duels in the late 1600s.

Although the practice declined over the years, it lingered until surprisingly late. The last duel in France took place in 1967, when René Ribière challenged a fellow politician for having insulted him. Filmed for posterity, the sword-wielding combatants agreed to halt only after Ribière was wounded twice

—Alfonso López

Learn more

BOOKS

Touché: The Duel in Literature
John Leigh. Harvard University Press, 2015

Gentlemen's Blood: A History of Dueling
Barbara Holland, Bloomsbury USA, 2003

Prisoners to Pioneers: Australia's First Settlers

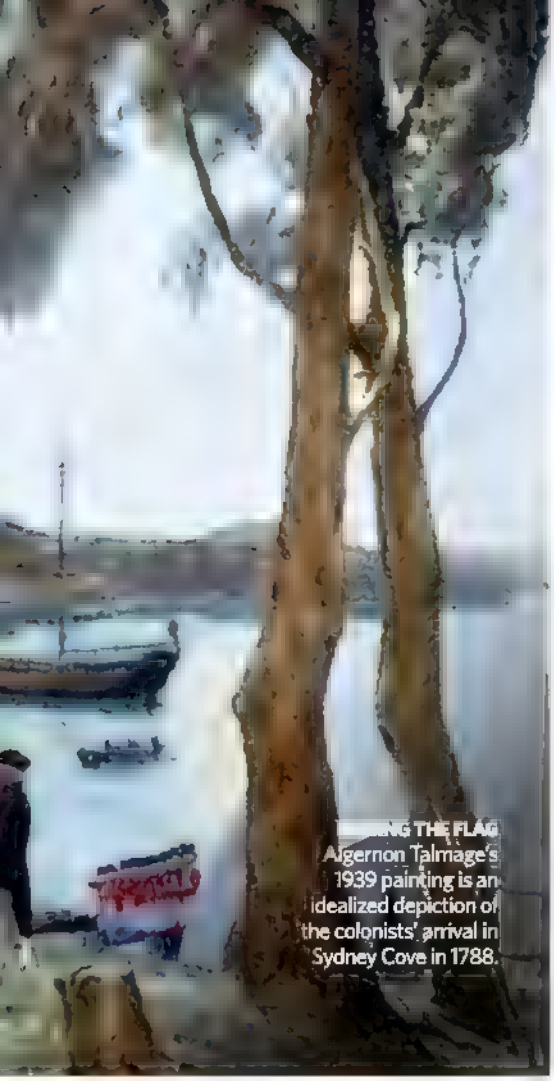
In 1788 British ships carrying the first colonists to Australia were at the end of their long, horrific journey. The settlers on board were not intrepid explorers but criminals sent from Britain's overflowing jails. These people would become the pioneers of a new nation in Oceania.

At the end of the 18th century, the authorities in Britain found themselves faced with a serious social crisis As the industrial revolution took off, rural workers flocked to the cities, which were rapidly expanding but fraught with poverty and poor living conditions. The result? A rise in crime.

The justice system of the time was exceedingly harsh, handing out long jail sentences for crimes as petty as stealing a loaf of bread. Every year, thousands of people convicted by the courts needed somewhere to serve out their sentences

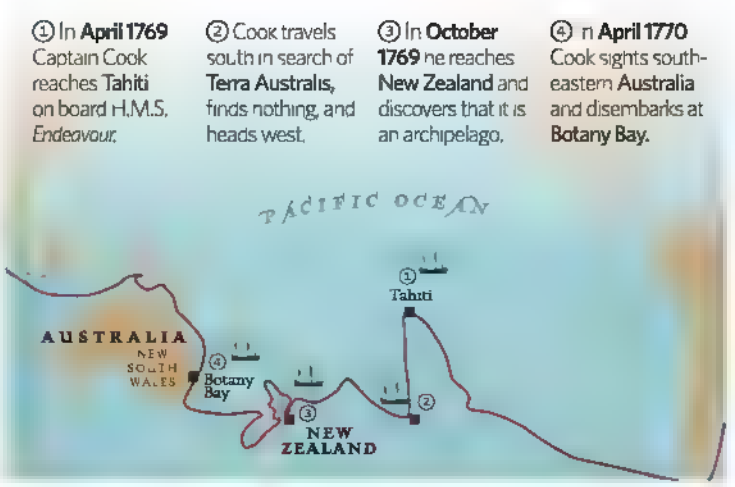
If the industrial cities seemed grim, jail conditions were much worse. Debtors and small-time criminals, who made up the majority of inmates, shared overcrowded cells with crime barons and murderers. Prisons started to burst at the seams, and conditions deteriorated

The government believed that the best solution to overflowing jails was to ship the prisoners to a penal colony far from British shores. It wasn't the first time such an idea had been put into practice. In previous decades, following the Transportation Act of 1718, many convicts had been sent to the North American colonies such as Maryland. But the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775 put an end to this practice, and another solution



...NG THE FLAG Algernon Talmage's 1939 painting is an idealized depiction of the colonists' arrival in Sydney Cove in 1788.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI


① In **April 1769** Captain Cook reaches **Tahiti** on board H.M.S. *Endeavour.*
② Cook travels south in search of **Terra Australis,** finds nothing, and heads west.
③ In **October 1769** he reaches **New Zealand** and discovers that it is an archipelago.
④ In **April 1770** Cook sights south-eastern **Australia** and disembarks at **Botany Bay.**
PACIFIC OCEAN
Tahiti
AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
Botany Bay
NEW ZEALAND

LAND OF THE SOUTH

IN THE MIDDLE AGES many explorers believed that somewhere in the southern hemisphere lay a huge continent called *Terra Australis*, which means "land of the south." The Dutch sailed around sections of Australia, which they called New Holland. Later, in 1770, the British explorer Captain James Cook demonstrated that Australia, rather than being part of an as-yet-undiscovered landmass, was a continent in its own right.

had to be found as quickly as possible. From 1776, convicts were incarcerated in whatever premises were available. Disused ships, known as hulks, were soon being used as makeshift penitentiaries. But they were little more than a stopgap for a situation reaching crisis point.

Following a failed attempt to send convicts to colonize territory in West Africa, the cabinet of Prime Minister Lord North considered an alternative destination for deportees: Australia.

In 1770 Captain James Cook had sailed up the coastline of Australia on his celebrated voyage aboard H.M.S. *Endeavour,* and claimed the area along the east coast, now called New South Wales, for the crown. Joseph Banks, the expedition's biologist, noted the existence of a natural harbor that he felt would offer ideal conditions for a new colony. Now called Botany Bay, it was named for the rich diversity of plant life found there.

Botany Bay, described by Captain Cook in 1770, was considered the ideal location for a new colony.

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, THE FIRST BRITON TO SIGHT EASTERN AUSTRALIA

PHOTOAISA

The First Fleet

Various plans were drafted detailing how the process of colonization would work. Politicians in London noted the commercial and military benefits that could result from having a permanent British colony in the Southern Hemisphere, although the primary motive seems to have been finding a solution for the ever worsening situation in the domestic prisons. When the so-called First Fleet set sail from London for Botany Bay in 1787, six of its eleven ships were crammed with prisoners. After an epic voyage, which included an attempted mutiny, the exhausted convoy finally arrived in Australia in January 1788.

It did not take long for the crews to realize that Banks's reports had been overly optimistic. Botany Bay was far from bountiful. It lacked even the most basic elements needed to set up a colony. Its harbor was so shallow that only small boats could dock. Worse still, the land could not support crops, and drinking water was scarce.

Arthur Phillip, expedition chief and future governor of the colony, gave orders for the fleet to sail on farther around the

FOLLOWING THE FOUNDING of Port Jackson, secondary penal colonies were built, such as this one established at Port Arthur, Tasmania, in 1830.

GERHARD ZWERGER-SCHONER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

coast in hope of coming upon somewhere more suited to their needs. A few miles away, they did at last find a spot that fulfilled their expectations. At the time, they called it Port Jackson, although soon it would become known as Sydney, named for Lord Sydney, the British minister who had planned the expedition.

The honor paid to Lord Sydney might seem surprising in light of the colony's disastrous first years. The politicians, half a world away in London, had gravely misjudged the deportees' capacity for the type of work required. The great majority of them were from big industrial cities, with no experience of living off the land. When the new colonists arrived, sick and traumatized after their journey, Phillip found that they did not have the skills, experience, or the raw physical strength to build their new colony from scratch. Hundreds of men had already died in transit, and many others were weak with disease or malnutrition.

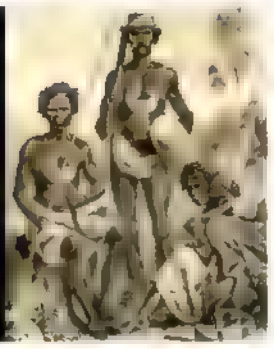
Rough Passage

The lack of discipline and the inhumane conditions in which the prisoners lived were making life intolerable. The work was hard and violence commonplace. Prisoners were regularly beaten, and, unsurprisingly, the men grew unproductive and increasingly hungry.

Governor Phillip was forced to request supplies from Britain, but London was slow to respond. After all, the Australian colony had been conceived primarily as a dumping ground where Britain could send its outcasts. To many politicians back home, the very fact that the convicts had left British shores was, in and of itself, a success. By the time a small fleet finally did arrive from London carrying a

AUSTERE ABORIGINALS

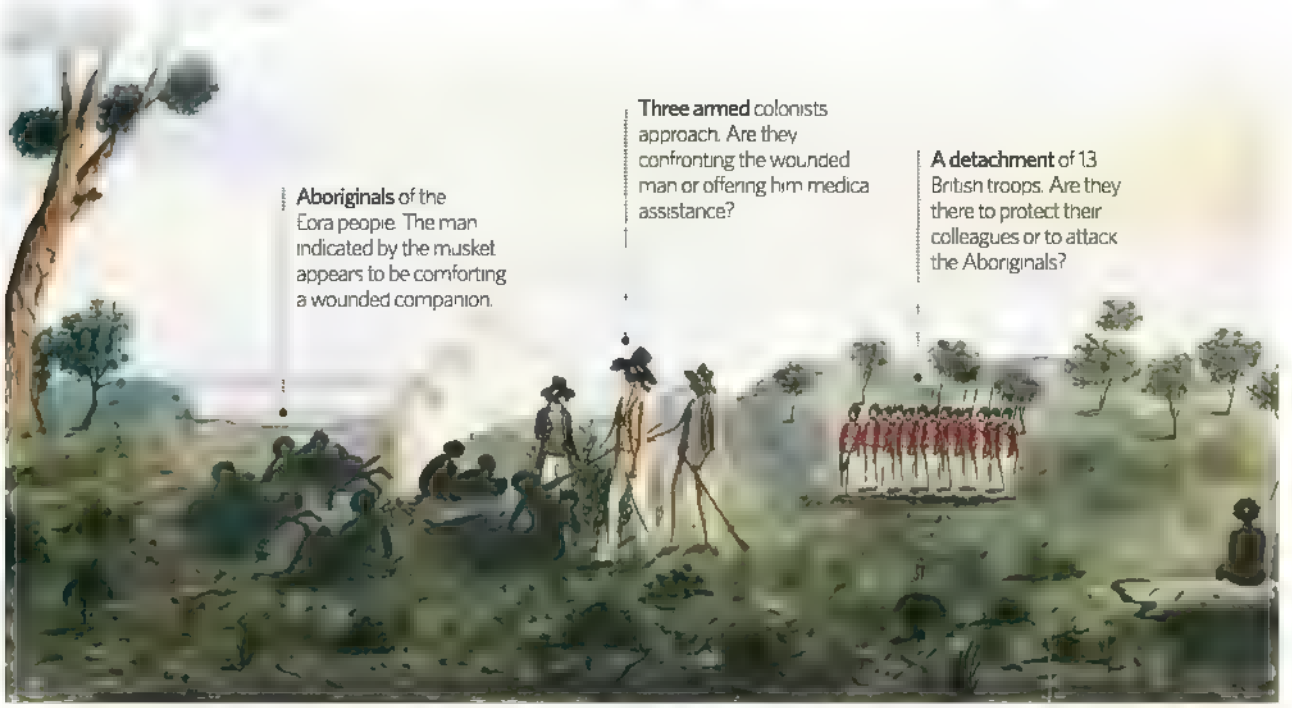
CAPTAIN COOK was the first European to have contact with Indigenous Australians. He wrote: *"[I]n reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary. Conveniences so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the use of them."*



SCALA, FLORENCE

A Clash of Worlds in Botany Bay

FIRST ENCOUNTERS between colonists and Aboriginals boded ill for Australia's future. This anonymous drawing, now at London's Natural History Museum, has prompted differing interpretations. It is known the armed men approaching the Aboriginals were surgeons, but are they coming to punish or to help?


Aboriginals of the Eora people. The man indicated by the musket appears to be comforting a wounded companion.
Three armed colonists approach. Are they confronting the wounded man or offering him medical assistance?
A detachment of 13 British troops. Are they there to protect their colleagues or to attack the Aboriginals?

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM/AGE FOTOSTOCK

meager consignment of provisions, the fledgling colony of New South Wales was on the edge of collapse from starvation and disease.

Despite these hardships, the British government did not suspend, or review, its policy of sending convicts to Australia. Prisoners continued to arrive in the thousands. Men and women were packed into ships' holds. Occasionally on the long, hazardous crossing they would be allowed up on deck, where they always remained under close guard. Other than these brief interludes, the deportees had almost no opportunity to breathe fresh air for the whole voyage, which lasted for months.

Worse still, the government paid the ship owners a fee per prisoner regardless of whether they arrived in Australia alive or dead. The ship's guards had no economic incentive to guarantee even the most basic of conditions, which yielded terrible consequences for those on board.

In addition to adult men, women, children, and the elderly were also passengers. The British penal code set a minimum age of nine years for deportation. Some women ended up resorting to prostitution to survive the journey during the long months of the sea crossing.

In cramped and filthy quarters, disease rapidly spread through the human cargo, often not long after setting out from Britain. Typhoid, cholera, and yellow fever killed huge numbers of deportees before they'd even set foot on Australian soil. Among the passengers, it was common practice to conceal the deaths in the hope of getting hold of the dead's food rations. Corporal punishment was routine, and most inmates were at an absolute breaking point long before they even arrived. Many of those who managed to survive the journey died soon after

A Nation Takes Hold

Many years later, after overcoming the initial chaos, New South Wales did begin to prosper and start to set up its own trade routes. The opportunities in this vast continent soon attracted new colonists from Britain who came not as deportees but as entrepreneurs, attracted by the offer of cheap prison labor. By 1825 the European population surpassed 50,000. By 1851 it had grown to 450,000. Ten years later, it had almost tripled.

As the new nation began to grow, it was hard to overlook that its foundations were built on the suffering of its first convict settlers, a complicated legacy that lingers today.

—Íñigo Bolinaga

THE FORSAKEN PHARAOH

AKHENATEN

In the 17 years of his reign, Akhenaten dramatically transformed Egyptian art, culture, and religion, but this pharoah's legacy was not celebrated. It was shunned.

Akhenaten's death in 1336 B.C. was sudden and unexpected. Rather than a burial in the Valley of the Kings, the traditional resting place of the royal family, he had designated an unconventional tomb carved into the cliffs of the wadi near Armana, some 250 miles to the south, where it would face the rising sun. From there, the late king's new city—Akhetaten—was visible, stretching along the east bank of the Nile River. Akhenaten was given a proper burial, but the priests observing the rites could hardly have imagined how his name would soon be stricken from history.

During his reign, Akhenaten abolished worship of many deities and installed the sun disk Aten as the one and only god of ancient Egypt. After his death, the old religious rites were restored and Akhenaten's were erased. Later generations would remember little of his radical reign, even though, together with his beautiful consort Nefertiti, he had transformed ancient Egypt, quickly bringing about far-reaching changes in art, architecture and, especially, religion.

A colossal statue of Akhenaten found at the sanctuary of Aten in Karnak can be seen today in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Akhenaten's successors may have toppled and buried it in an attempt to stain his legacy.

ARALDO DE LUCA

CONFUSION AND SPLENDOR

Artistic innovation and historical confusion surround Akhenaten's reign. It is not known if this relief, on display at Berlin's Egyptian Museum, is of the pharaoh with Nefertiti, or of his son, Tutankhamun, with his queen.

PHOTOAISA

The controversial pharaoh had not always been known as Akhenaten. Rising to the throne as Amenhotep IV, the first years of his reign following the death of his father—Amenhotep III—were fairly uneventful. For the first five years, he reigned from the city of Thebes, center of the powerful cult to the god Amun. The pharaoh had new monuments erected at Karnak, several dedicated to Aten, the sun disk. He chose a new building technique, using small sandstone blocks known as *talatat*. These blocks were easy to transport and made construction quicker and easier, a useful symbol for a reign soon to be marked by such swift change.

The late Amenhotep III had gained a certain reputation for his emphasis on the solar cult, even encouraging people to worship the solar disk Aten as a deity. Five years into his own reign, his son and heir would quickly take this religious policy to an unthinkable extreme, changing his name to Akhenaten—"beneficial to Aten." He rapidly constructed his new, Nile-side capital of Akhetaten (known today as the archaeological site of Tell el Amarna, 190 miles from Cairo). From there, he decreed that Aten would be ancient Egypt's sole deity. The sun disk became the pharaoh's personal divinity and the pharaoh an intermediary between Aten and the people.

A famous inscription on the tomb of the courtier Aya in Akhetaten includes a text in which the tenets of the pharaoh's new religion

THE RISE AND FALL OF ATEN

1353 B.C.
Amenhotep IV ascends the throne as successor of Amenhotep III, continuing his father's religious policy of promoting the cult of Aten.

CIRCA 1348 B.C.
The solar disk, Aten, is decreed the sole god. The pharaoh changes his name to Akhenaten and founds a capital named for himself.

AKHENATEN'S FATHER, AMENHOTEP III, HAD ALSO PROMOTED THE CULT OF ATEN.

ART ARCHIVE

DISMANTLED LEGACY
Akhenaten's monuments to Aten in Karnak were later taken apart. Its sandstone bricks were reused in temples to glorify the restored god Amun.

REMEDIOS VALLS LÓPEZ/AGE FOTOSTOCK

CIRCA 1341 B.C.
Nefertiti, Akhenaten's consort, is appointed co-regent, but her name disappears from historical records soon after.

1336 B.C.
Akhenaten dies. The identities of his immediate successors are unclear. Scholars believe one might have been Nefertiti herself.

1333–1292 B.C.
During the reigns of Tutankhamun, Aye, and Horemheb, the cults of Amun and the other Egyptian gods are restored.

1292 B.C.
The reign of Ramses I opens the 19th dynasty, during which Akhenaten's name and those of his immediate successors are erased.

CITY OF THE SUN

Akhetaten—modern-day Tell el Amarna—was founded by Akhenaten as Egypt's new capital and the center of the solar cult to Aten. The ruins still stand today

AKG/ALBUM

are laid out in the Hymn to Aten. Depicting Aten, the sun disk, as the prime mover of life, the hymn also emphasizes how any knowledge and revelation from Aten can only be revealed through Akhenaten, who was seen as quasi divine.

At first, temples to the other gods continued to be used for worship. But then, around the tenth year of Akhenaten's reign, came even more radical change: a royal campaign against the cult devoted to Amun and his wife, Mut. Previously, Amun had been predominant in the pantheon, and a powerful priesthood had grown up around him. But Akhenaten ordered that Amun's name be excised from all monuments. The temples of all other gods except Aten were closed.

Heretic or Politic?

It is difficult to say exactly what it was that motivated Akhenaten to dismantle centuries of religious tradition, a policy that later led to his posthumous branding as a heretic. Was he a religious fanatic attempting to impose an egotistical religion on his people? Or was he, in fact, a shrewd politician looking to undermine the huge economic power enjoyed by the priesthood of Amun?

For many years the image of Akhenaten has been seen in a purely religious light, especially among scholars who saw his ideas as a precursor to the monotheism developed by the Hebrews. More recently, however, Egyptologists have sought to refine the profile. The picture of Akhenaten now emerging is far more nuanced and intriguing.

Recent scholarship shows that Akhenaten did not shut himself away in his new capital in pious adoration of Aten. On the contrary, he remained an important player on the international stage, managing to maintain Egypt's influence in Canaan (modern-day Israel) and Nubia (northern Sudan). It seems impossible that Akhenaten could have succeeded in crushing so many cults, especially the powerful cult of Amun, unless he had a significant military force at his command.

Akhenaten also had support in calling for religious reform. The women in his life—his mother, Tiye, and his wife, Nefertiti—were also closely involved in the religious and political revolution that took place during his reign. Akhenaten worked closely on reforms with the cooperation of Nefertiti. Her face is one of the most iconic images associated with ancient Egypt thanks to the discovery of a bust of her in 1912. In some artistic depictions she is shown standing belligerently against Egypt's enemies.

Nefertiti, along with Akhenaten himself, was the sole intermediary between the people and Aten. It is also believed that Nefertiti was made co-regent alongside her husband and took an active role in the religious and political life of the kingdom, carrying out official duties usually reserved for the king. Before becoming co-regent, Nefertiti added to her name the word Neferneferuaten, which means "Beautiful Is the Beauty of Aten."

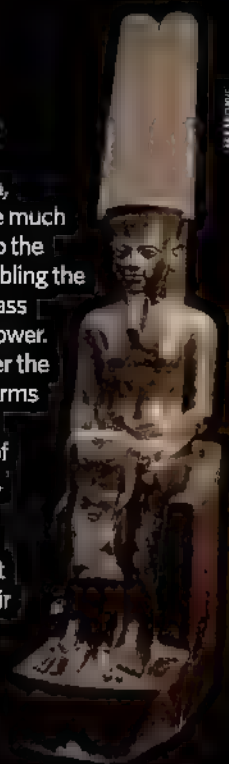
Then, from the 12th year of Akhenaten's reign, all references to Nefertiti suddenly cease and a new king, Ankhkheprure Neferneferuaten, appears. Some believe this new king is Nefertiti, who changed her name again. Some historians believe she may have died, although many others now posit that she outlived her husband, and even ruled briefly as Pharaoh. Her role, and the possibility she adopted other names, has baffled, intrigued, and divided historians for many years.

Today, the profile that seems to fit Akhenaten best is that of a sovereign who had fused both religion and politics into his ruling vision. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors,

AMUN MAKES A COMEBACK

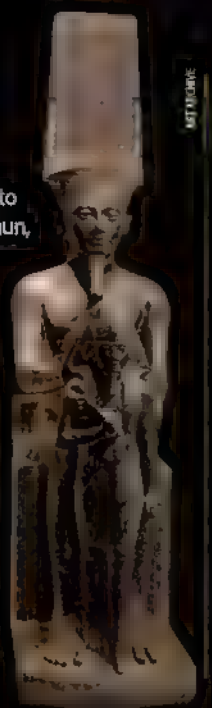
The death of Akhenaten and the brief reigns of his immediate successors marked the end of the cult of Aten. Later pharaohs eliminated any trace of the cult of Aten and, later, even the existence of Akhenaten himself. Horemheb and Ramses II were particularly zealous in erasing the existence of their heretical predecessor. Temples and monuments dedicated to Aten were demolished and the eponymous capital city founded by Akhenaten was abandoned and fell into oblivion.

SANDSTONE BLOCKS, KNOWN AS *TALATAT*, FROM THE TEMPLE OF ATEN CONSTRUCTED BY AKHENATEN IN KARNAK.



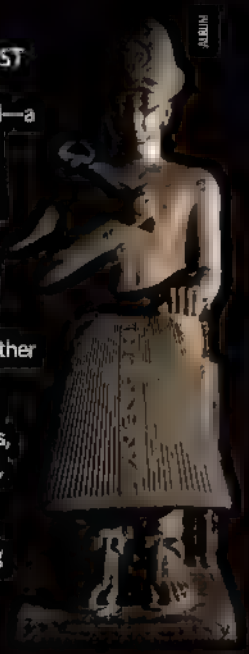
AMUN
DISEMPOWERED DEITY

Before Akhenaten, Egypt's kings gave much land and wealth to the cult of Amun, enabling the priesthood to amass huge economic power. It was little wonder the new religious reforms upset the priests: Banning the cult of Amun—depicted, right, in a later statue protecting Tutankhamun—cut them off from their main source of wealth and social status.



HOREMHEB
RESTORER OF BELIEFS

Horemheb, an army general, was named heir to the throne by Tutankhamun, but was later pushed aside by Aye. When Horemheb finally took the throne after Aye's death, his priority was to return Egypt to its former values. Central to this campaign was a return to traditional forms of worship, in which Amun was reinstated as god of the monarchy, and the focal point of state worship.



RAMSES II
HARDLINER AGAINST HERESY

Grandson of Ramses I—a general, with no royal blood—Ramses II set out to style himself as the model Egyptian pharaoh. One way to prove his credentials was to continue the policies of his grandfather and his father, Seti I, and erase all traces of the heretical pharaohs, especially Akhenaten, whose abandoned royal city was further plundered for building materials during Ramses II's reign.

Mystery Mummy

SINCE THEIR DISCOVERY in 1907, the remains from tomb KV55 in the Valley of the Kings have caused much controversy. At first, it was argued they belong either to Akhenaten's mother, Queen Tiye, or to Nefertiti. Against the tide of academic opinion at the time, Egyptologist Arthur Weigall believed the remains were of Akhenaten himself.

LATER ANALYSIS of the remains seem to have proved Weigall correct: They belong to a man, albeit a willowy one. A recent study suggests that the person died around age 35. The skull is two standard deviations larger than the rest of the body, an unusual feature that matches sculptures of Akhenaten. The person's blood group is A2MN, the same as Tutankhamun, Akhenaten's son.

WHO MOVED THE BODY?

Visitors to Cairo's Egyptian Museum view what is thought to be Akhenaten's sarcophagus (above). Found far from its original burial site, experts believe it was later reburied in the Valley of the Kings.

AMR NABIL/AP IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

but took their policies to new extremes, with the full support of his wife and family.

Akhenaten's Death

The events following the death of Akhenaten are still debated among historians. It seems fair to surmise that the response to Akhenaten's death among his people would have been divided. Many had decided to follow Akhenaten in his reforms, whether out of religious conviction, opportunism, or both. For these, his death would have come as a bitter blow.

Many other members of the ruling class, however, had seen their power and status stripped away by the sudden exaltation of Aten and the abandonment of Amun. Chief among these were the priestly class, whose livelihoods had long depended on the preeminence of Amun. Among this group, Akhenaten's death would certainly have been celebrated rather than mourned.

It is also unclear who immediately ruled Egypt after Akhenaten died. Some historians believe that Nefertiti became the sole regent after his death, but some scholars are not so sure. One piece of evidence supporting this theory is the correspondence between an Egyptian queen and the leader of another great power of the Mediterranean at that time, the Hittite Empire, which extended across what is now Turkey. The annals of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma tell how, soon after receiving news that Akhenaten had died, a letter arrived at the Hittite palace sent from a queen of Egypt, who was referred to as "Dakhamunzu." The mysterious missive read as follows: "My husband is dead and I have no son. They say you have many sons. You might give me one of your sons to become my husband. I would not wish to take one of my subjects as a husband . . . I am afraid."

The kings of Egypt had never before allowed a foreign prince to marry into the royal family, so it was natural for Suppiluliuma to suspect a trick. He sent one of his agents to investigate. On his return, the envoy delivered a letter to the Hittite king. It was a reply from the Egyptian queen and read: "Why did you say 'they are deceiving me'? . . . I have no sons . . . They say your sons are many: So give me one son of yours. To me he will be husband, but to Egypt he will be king."

Finally, convinced of the noble intentions of the queen, and tempted by the possibilities of

THE RETURN OF THE GOD
Crushed under Akhenaten, the cult of Amun later thrived under the 19th-dynasty pharaoh Seti I, who built the hypostyle Hall of the temple dedicated to Amun in Karnak.

SHIFTING LOYALTIES

Basking in the rays of Aten, Akhenaten's son and his wife are depicted in sumptuous relief on the royal throne, now held at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Known as Tutankhaten, Akhenaten's heir later changed his name to Tutankhamun, in honor of Amun.

DE AGOSTINI

having a family member on the throne of Egypt, Suppiluliuma decided to accept her petition. Shortly after, a discreet delegation left the Hittite capital, Hattusa. Among its members was Prince Zannanza, chosen by the Hittite king to fulfill the Egyptian queen's request. But rumors spread about the queen's missive. Her detractors within Egypt were outraged at the unorthodox marriage proposition and sabotaged it. The Hittite delegation was attacked on its way to the Nile Valley and the suitor assassinated.

Was this mysterious Egyptian queen, who had lost her husband and had no sons, Nefertiti? Although there is no conclusive proof, some historians now believe this doomed bid to marry a Hittite was indeed made by Akhenaten's widow, not least because "Dakhamunzu," in the Hittite language, means "the king's wife."

Amun Returns

If Nefertiti ruled following the death of Akhenaten, her reign lasted only a few years. The throne passed to the ten-year-old Tutankhaten and believed by some historians to be the only son of Akhenaten. His mother may have been Kiya, Akhenaten's second wife.

From the first moments of the child pharaoh's rule, the old religious guard moved into action and swiftly restored the cult of Amun. In the third or fourth year of his reign, Tutankhaten changed his name to Tutankhamun: "living image of Amun." Tutankhamun's new political program is set out on the so-called Restoration Stela, later adapted by the pharaoh Horemheb. It describes how the temples to the old gods had been left devastated but were beginning to be restored. While not abandoning the ideological innovations of his father, Tutankhamun returned to some of the old rites. This may not have been so difficult to achieve. Despite the radical reforms effected by Akhenaten, it had been impossible for him to root out the traditional and deeply held beliefs. Akhenaten had been able to impose reforms in the upper echelons of society. Even so, he failed to ensure that the inhabitants of far-off Memphis stopped worshipping their god, Ptah.

Dying without children, Tutankhamun was succeeded by Akhenaten's former courtier and general Aye, who died just four years later. He was replaced by another military figure, Horemheb. From this period, religious practices returned to the arrangements that preceded Akhenaten, whose legacy began to be dismantled.

The destruction of the Aten cult reached its height in the 19th dynasty, beginning with Ramses I, and later consolidated by his son, Seti I, and his grandson, Ramses II. A colleague of Horemheb, Ramses I also was a military figure but had no blood ties to Egyptian royalty. Akhetaten was abandoned, and the royal court returned to Thebes. Ramses I declared that the lists of royalty be modified to make the names jump from Amenhotep III straight to Horemheb, omitting Akhenaten and his immediate successors. Many archaeologists believe this is why Tutankhamun's tomb remained relatively intact for centuries. Forgetting about his existence meant that no one remembered to look for him.

Wiping out all traces of Akhenaten's legacy, however, proved difficult. The imagery of the Hymn to Aten is strikingly similar to what is known now as Psalm 104 of the Bible. The memory of this interlude, in which Aten was worshipped as Egypt's one god, may well have filtered into the later scriptures of a monotheistic tribe of the eastern Mediterranean: the Hebrews.

JOSÉ MIGUEL PARRA ORTIZ
A PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT EGYPT AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID. PARRA PARTICIPATED IN RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT LUXOR

DESTROYING ALL TRACES

Horemheb, depicted here on his tomb, was the last ruler of the 18th dynasty. He dismantled the temple that Akhenaten had built to Aten in Karnak.

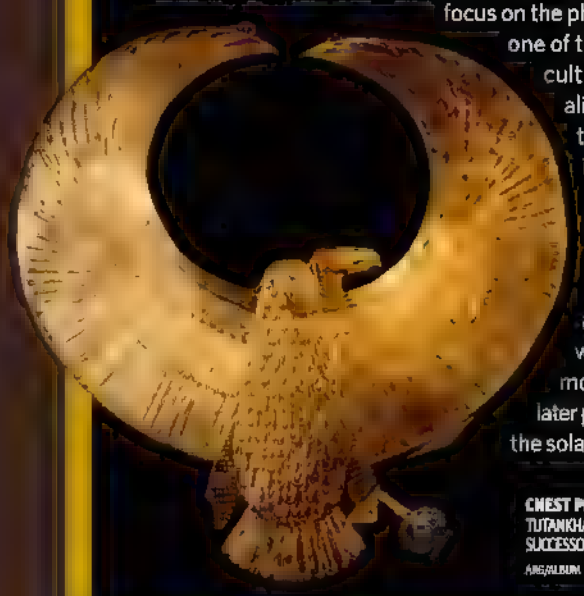
ARALDO DE LUCA

HERE COMES THE SUN GOD

In a land bathed in intense desert light, the sun god Re had always been one of the foremost gods of Egypt. Even as the cult of Amun grew, he would often appear as a composite: Amun-Re. Later, under Akhenaten, the sun would be worshipped as its most visible manifestation: the disk named Aten.

THE FIRST REFERENCES to Aten as a celestial manifestation of Re appear during the Middle Kingdom, when it was still regarded as a fixed object in the sky. About halfway through the New Kingdom, this celestial figure becomes personified as a divinity in its own right. Aten appears as a warrior god in an amulet belonging to Thutmose IV—Akhenaten's grandfather. The real change occurs under Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, who encourages worship of the sun disk itself. It is his son who turns Aten into not only his personal deity but also the national divinity of Egypt, displacing all other gods.

AKHENATEN WANTED his relationship with Aten to be exclusive, specifying that nobody else was capable of understanding his wishes. Akhenaten acted as a mediator between the earthly and the divine. This marked a new departure in the religions of Egypt, which had previously depended on priesthoods and household shrines. This focus on the pharaoh was perhaps one of the fatal flaws in the cult of Aten because it alienated people from their faith. Perhaps if Akhenaten had allowed greater access to the divine, Aten would have enjoyed a wider appeal, and there would have been more resistance when later pharaohs dismantled the solar cult.



CHEST PLATE BELONGING TO TUTANKHAMUN, ONE OF THE SUCCESSORS OF AKHENATEN

AKG/ALBUM

ATEN BESTOWS FAVOR
Aten, the solar disk, is the focal point of this bas-relief found at Tell el Amarna, and now on display in Cairo's Egyptian Museum. Aten appears, shining above the royal family, his rays bathing them in celestial light.

OFFERINGS TO ATEN
The royal family makes a sacred offering of lotus flowers to the solar disk. Lotus flowers were a symbol of resurrection and can also be seen here upon the altars.

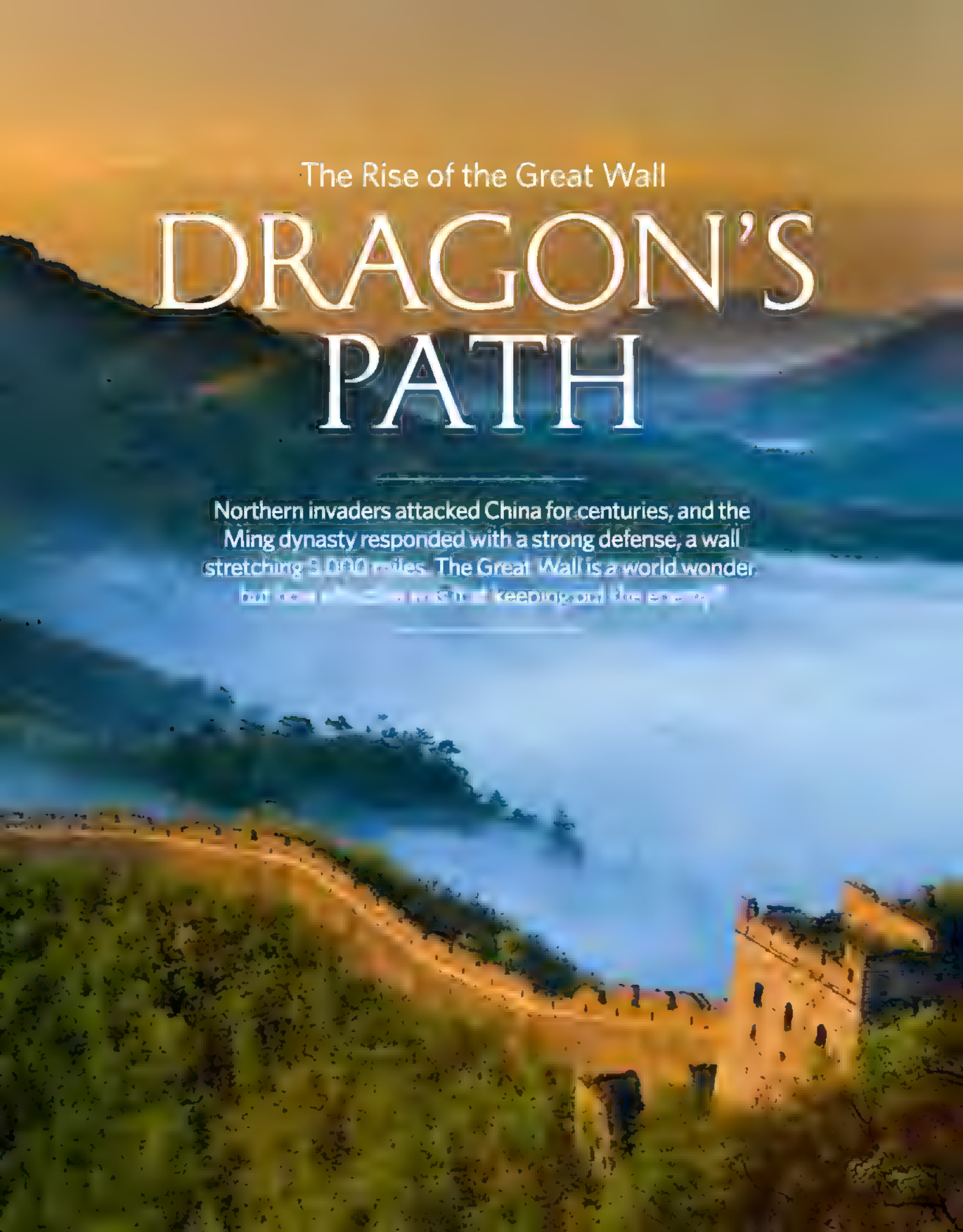
BLESSED BY ATEN
The largest figure is the king himself, his features bearing the distortions typical of other representations of Akhenaten in this period. Behind him, smaller in size, are his wife Queen Nefertiti and two of their daughters.

ROYAL MESSENGERS
Only Akhenaten and Nefertiti were allowed to worship Aten. Everyone else used the couple as intermediaries, which explains why depictions of the royal family were often found in homes.

DISTORTED BODIES
In the art of the period, known as Amarna style, figures appear with thick lips, rounded thighs, and protuberant bellies. In addition to the king, such traits can be clearly seen here in the depiction of Nefertiti.

ARALDO DE LUCA

NORTHERN EXPOSURE
Rising and falling across China's northern hills, much of the Great Wall was built by the Ming dynasty in the late 1500s in a supreme effort to safeguard China from the marauding tribes of the steppes.


The Rise of the Great Wall
DRAGON'S PATH
Northern invaders attacked China for centuries, and the Ming dynasty responded with a strong defense, a wall stretching 5,000 miles. The Great Wall is a world wonder,

FORMIDABLE FRONTIER

Crossing six Chinese provinces, the middle sections of the Ming Great Wall split into outer and inner walls (left). The space between the watchtowers, as seen today (right) in a stretch of the wall near Beijing, was calculated to allow for quick communication.

Desolately the wind rises.
We march thousands of miles over vast distances.
Why do we cross the deserts?
To build the Great Wall.

This poem, written by Emperor Yangdi at the beginning of the seventh century A.D., is a lyrical reminder of the centuries spent by the Chinese building a wall to repel foreign invaders. Just one among many defensive strategies that China employed, the Great Wall stretches more than 5,000 miles long. Rather than one continuous wall, it consists of many smaller pieces, all built during different eras in history. The earliest fortifications date back as far as the seventh century B.C., but the best-preserved sections were built during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The Great Wall is a marvel of engineering and triumph of human ingenuity, but the verdict is out on how well it worked at its primary function: keeping people out.

Northern Aggression

The primary threat to the Chinese came from the northern neighbors. Nomadic herders had inhabited the bordering steppe territories since the fourth century B.C. The harsh environment produced enough for the people to survive, but not much else. The northerners envied the goods and luxuries enjoyed by their southern

RENÉ MATTES/HEMIS.FR

BUILDING THE GREAT WALL

221 B.C.
QIN SHI HUANG DI unifies the Chinese kingdoms. He orders the linking of the existing Yan and Zhao walls to create a new barrier stretching across the north.

134 B.C.
HAN EMPEROR Wudi restores and connects sections of the old Qin wall and extends it. Later, in 119 B.C., a new stretch some 250 miles in length is built.

A.D. 1575
THE MING dynasty rebuilds the defences to create what will become the Great Wall. Construction peaks during the reign of Emperor Wanli (1572–1620).

1644
dynasty seizes power, and
northern steppe areas are
annexed by the Chinese
Empire. The wall steadily
falls into irrelevance

FAST AND FURIOUS
This ink drawing from the 15th-16th century shows the Mongols' greatest military strengths: swift, sturdy horses and skilful archers.
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

neighbors, such as fine textiles and a wider variety of agricultural products.

The nomads' population was significantly smaller than that of the Chinese but posed a serious military threat nonetheless. Astride their quick, hardy steppe ponies and armed with powerful bows and arrows, their warriors were capable of launching effective raids on the bordering Chinese states and taking what they wanted.

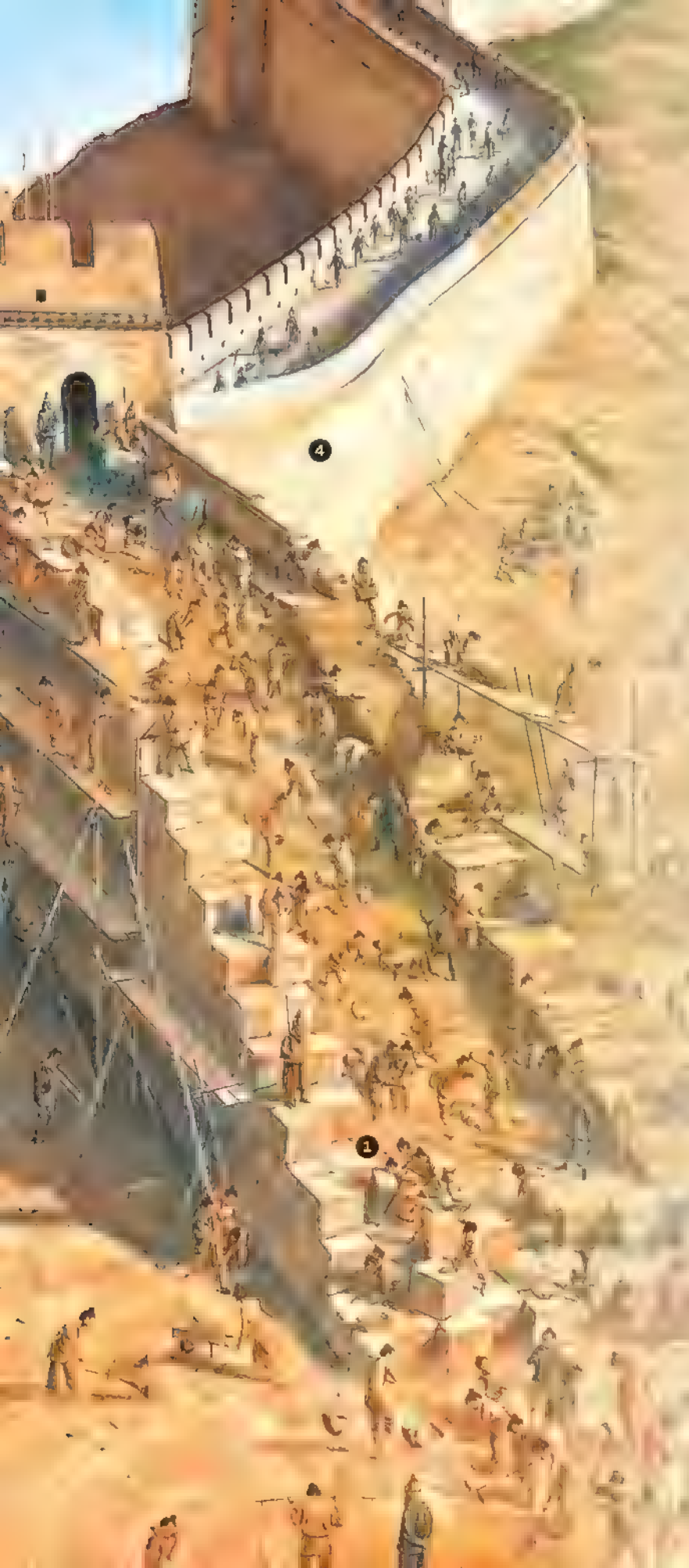
Chinese emperors resorted to numerous strategies to keep the nomads out, including engineering, warfare, and diplomacy. The first emperor of a united China, Qin Shi Huang Di (221–210 B.C.), created one of the first unified lines of fortifications along the entire northern border, linking existing structures built by previous states. The emperors of the succeeding Han dynasty attempted economic as well as military strategies to deal with outsiders. They paid subsidies while simultaneously conducting campaigns on the steppes and building a new defensive wall. But these tactics failed to stop the invaders. Instead of ceasing their attacks, the northerners learned that not only could their incursions gain them quick access to goods, but they could also be used as a threat to request even more aid from the Chinese.

Over the next thousand years, relations continued in this fashion. Then, in the 13th century A.D., a chief called Temüjin unified the Mongols, shifting the balance of power in favor of the northerners. Temüjin—who had become emperor of the Mongols under the name Genghis Khan—attacked northern China in 1211 and captured the capital in 1215. His grandson, Kublai Khan, would succeed in capturing all of China and founding a new dynasty: the Yuan.

In the third century B.C. Qin Shi Huang Di linked existing defenses to create a new wall.

ARMOR FROM ONE OF THE TERRA-COTTA WARRIORS IN QIN SHI HUANG DI'S MAUSOLEUM. THIRD CENTURY B.C.
ORONOZ/ALBUM

ILLUSTRATION: STEVE NOON/OSPREY PUBLISHING



CONSTRUCTING THE GREAT WALL

The Great Wall was not the result of a single project. It was built in stretches over a period of more than two centuries. The first parts were built in the west and the wall was extended eastward as the nomads sought out unprotected areas for their incursions. The first walls built by the Ming were made in the traditional way, with earth and adobe to create a mud wall. Later in the 16th century, a more expensive and durable system was developed. Two brick walls were built on a stone base. The space inside was filled with compacted dirt, gravel, and sand. The illustration to the left shows how this model may have been carried out.

❶ *Hard at Work*

Civilians as well as soldiers worked on building the wall. The civilians were rewarded with tax breaks. The builders sometimes mutinied, as they did in Datong in 1524 when the garrison killed the supervisor.

❷ *Baked to Last*

Cooked in kilns at 2102 °F (1150 °C) for seven days, the bricks were of the highest quality. Modern experiments have calculated that this manufacturing process made them as strong as reinforced concrete.

❸ *Strong as Rice*

Stronger even than the bricks was the mortar. In some stretches the bricks have worn away and only the mortar is left. Recent analyses show that the mixture contained a secret ingredient: rice flour.

❹ *Thousands of Miles*

The Ming Great Wall extends for nearly 5,000 miles. In some sections there are double or even triple stretches, so the wall's total length is estimated at just under 5,500 miles.

BAD ADVICE, HORRIBLE DEFEAT

IN THE SUMMER OF 1449 Wang Zhen, a corrupt and incompetent court eunuch, convinced the young emperor Zhengtong to raise a vast army to end the Mongol incursions. After a month fruitlessly roaming the frontier, Wang Zhen ordered his army back to the capital. On August 30, however, the army's rear guard was annihilated by the Mongols. That same afternoon, another contingent was surrounded and destroyed. The next day the Chinese army camped next to the small fort of Tumu, only to find that a Mongol detachment had ridden ahead and blocked the way to the nearby river. The army set off again, but the Mongols attacked. After weeks of marching, two days without water, and attacks from every direction, the Chinese soldiers fled. Half a million men were defeated by only 20,000 Mongols. Half of the Chinese troops were killed. Among the huge numbers of prisoners was the emperor himself.

STATUE OF A GENERAL FROM THE MING DYNASTY TOMBS NEAR BEIJING
IVAN VDOVIN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

A FEAT OF ENGINEERING

The Great Wall is nearly 30 feet high and long in some stretches, and often built through rugged and mountainous terrain, such as the Huanghuacheng region (right) near Beijing.

The Yuan dynasty didn't last long. It was overthrown by a peasant revolt in 1368. The Mongol court fled the capital and took refuge on the steppes. China's new reigning dynasty, the Ming (1368–1644), began an aggressive campaign to prevent the Yuan from attempting to return to power. But going on the attack would prove disastrous in 1449, when they suffered a devastating defeat at the Battle of Tumu. From the 15th century on, the dynasty moved more and more onto the defensive.

Despite it being an unpopular policy among the Ming dynasty's emperors and civil servants, foreign aid was repeatedly sent to the Mongols to contain them, an outlay that became a burden on public finances. Such measures failed to prevent a surge in border attacks by the emboldened Mongols, in part a tactic to force the Chinese to trade the goods so desperately needed on the steppes. According to Great Secretary Li Xian in 1459, the Mongols' constant need for food and clothing "is a calamity for China." It was not until 1571 that a powerful courtier, Minister Wang Chung Ku, convinced Emperor Longqing to change the policy. Trading posts were built on the border. The number of Mongol attacks fell, and China could wind down its expensive military campaigns.

One Brick at a Time

In parallel with these diplomatic and economic maneuvers, the Ming embarked on building the Great Wall. Extensive construction began in the 16th and 17th centuries. Much of this massive barrier snaking up and down the hills still stands today. Earlier fortifications had taken the form of earthworks, but under the Ming program, they would be made from a stone base covered with

The Ming were also famous for their achievements in painting and pottery.

MING VASE WITH DRAGON, 16TH CENTURY
BPK/SCALA, FIRENZE

KIM WALTER/FOTOTECA 9X17

SEEING RED

A glittering emblem of Ming majestic power, the scarlet throne room in the Imperial Palace was built in 1406. Here, the emperor granted audiences and met with advisers.

AIPIX

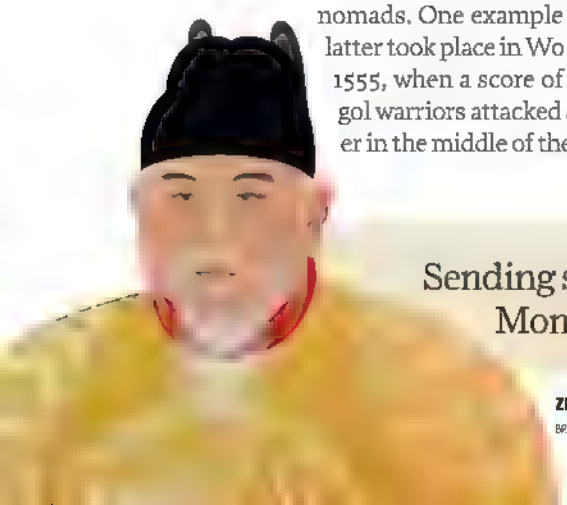
brick. An astonishing 5,000 miles in length, the new fortifications were vastly more ambitious than any of the previous structures, costing as much as a hundred times more than earlier walls, according to some chroniclers. The Ming rulers were determined their wall would withstand both nomadic aggression and the slower assaults of weather and time.

So far, its victory against erosion is an unqualified success. The barrier's military effectiveness, however, is somewhat harder to assess. China's northern border continued to suffer a very large number of attacks. Sometimes these were undertaken by armies numbering as many as 100,000 men, as well as by smaller groups of nomads. One example of the latter took place in Wo Yan in 1555, when a score of Mongol warriors attacked a tower in the middle of the night using grappling hooks to climb the wall. But just as they reached the top, the snorting of their horses alerted the Chinese guards.

Watchers on the Wall

The lives of the guards stationed along the wall's vast length were extremely tough. In 1443 a document from the Ministry of the Army admitted that "soldiers on the northwest border are exposed to wind and cold. Whether they serve as watchmen on the signal towers or guards in the passes . . . they may be away from their base, family, and children for months or years, and are often lacking for clothing and food. It is true they are paid monthly but they often have to spend their money on weapons or horses. Their suffering from hunger and cold is indescribable."

These harsh living conditions could partly explain the low morale among the soldiers. There is evidence of widespread distrust between civil



> Sending subsidies and luxury goods to the Mongols was hoped to reduce attacks.

ZHU YUANZHANG, FOUNDER OF THE MING DYNASTY

BRIDGEMAN/AL

ILLUSTRATION: STEVE NOON/OSPREY PUBLISHING

THE WALL'S DEFENSIVE TOWERS

The towers built along the Great Wall had several functions, including defense, observation, signaling, and refuge. Defense towers, such as the one in the illustration, were garrisoned by 30 to 50 men who served for four-month periods. The soldiers lived in the tower itself and kept their equipment and food there, too. They were in many respects small castles that were designed to withstand lengthy sieges. Watchtowers were considerably smaller and garrisoned with just five men. Signal towers were equipped so as to be able to raise the alarm using various methods: smoke signals, colored flags, cannon shots, and lanterns.

1 ***Living Quarters***

The top of the Great Wall itself is where the soldiers ate and slept when they were not on guard duty or working the land. The smaller upper floor could be used as a room for storing equipment and arms.

2 ***Parapets***

The tower and wall were equipped with battlements to protect the defenders. The embrasures allowed them to shoot bows, crossbows, and, especially from the 16th century, firearms from behind cover.

3 ***Officers***

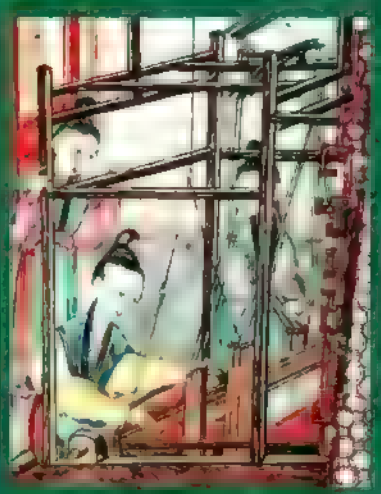
Each tower was assigned an officer who in turn reported to officers of five towers, ten towers, longer stretches of the wall called "circuits," and, finally the wall's nine military zones.

4 ***A Larger Defense***

In spite of its imposing size, the Great Wall was only the most visible part of a fortified area that included watchtowers on both sides of the border and walled cities where border patrol units were stationed.

TRADING WITH THE ENEMIES

CONTACT BETWEEN northern nomads and the people of China was based as much on trade as war. On the steppes, the Mongols couldn't grow many crops, making agricultural trade with the Chinese essential. There was also high demand among nomadic tribes for sophisticated textiles such as silk and cotton, as well as metal to make weapons. The Chinese, meanwhile, coveted the nomads' small horses for war. They could not raise the large number of mounts they needed in Chinese stables, and the nomads seemed to have more horses than anyone else. However, there was an imbalance in these trade relations. The Chinese could manage without horses, but the Mongols could not forgo food or clothing.



SILK WEAVERS, PICTURE FROM A MING-DYNASTY CERAMIC VASE

THE FAR WEST

Located in a desert area of Gansu, the Jiayuguan (right) is the first gate at the wall's western end. Built as a border fort in 1372, it was later incorporated into the Ming Great Wall.

servants and the men. In 1554 one official accused the border troops of cowardice: Whenever the enemy approached the wall, he said, they fled without putting up any resistance. In 1609 another account suggested lack of resources may have been at fault. Since the guards on the towers felt unable to defend themselves, they would not raise the alarm if they spotted Mongols nearby, preferring to pretend that they had not seen them.

Chinese troops along the wall also had a great deal of friendly contact with the nomads. In spite of opposition from their superiors, Chinese border guards often traded with their enemies. In extreme situations, soldiers even openly colluded with them.

In 1533, according to one revealing account from a civil servant, soldiers on observation towers served as guides for Mongol war parties during their incursions into Chinese territory. In 1550 the military commander of the northern city of Datong reported: "Our troops and rangers often go into Mongol lands to trade with them and have made friends there. Four leaders, Altan, Toyto, Senge and Usin, have incorporated observation towers from our great frontier into their camps. The Mongols take our men's place as watchmen and our soldiers replace their troops as herders. This means that no strategic information about our defenses goes unnoticed by the Mongols." For all the Great Wall's magnificence as a structure, it was only effective if manned by disciplined troops. The remoteness coupled with the harsh living conditions tested even the most steadfast.

The Rise of the Manchu

Weakened by two centuries of conflict with the Mongols, the Ming lost power internally. They yielded power to the Manchus after a peasants' revolt in 1644. The Manchu, or Qing, dynasty (1644-1912), hugely expanded China's borders northward, making the Great Wall largely unnecessary as a defensive measure.

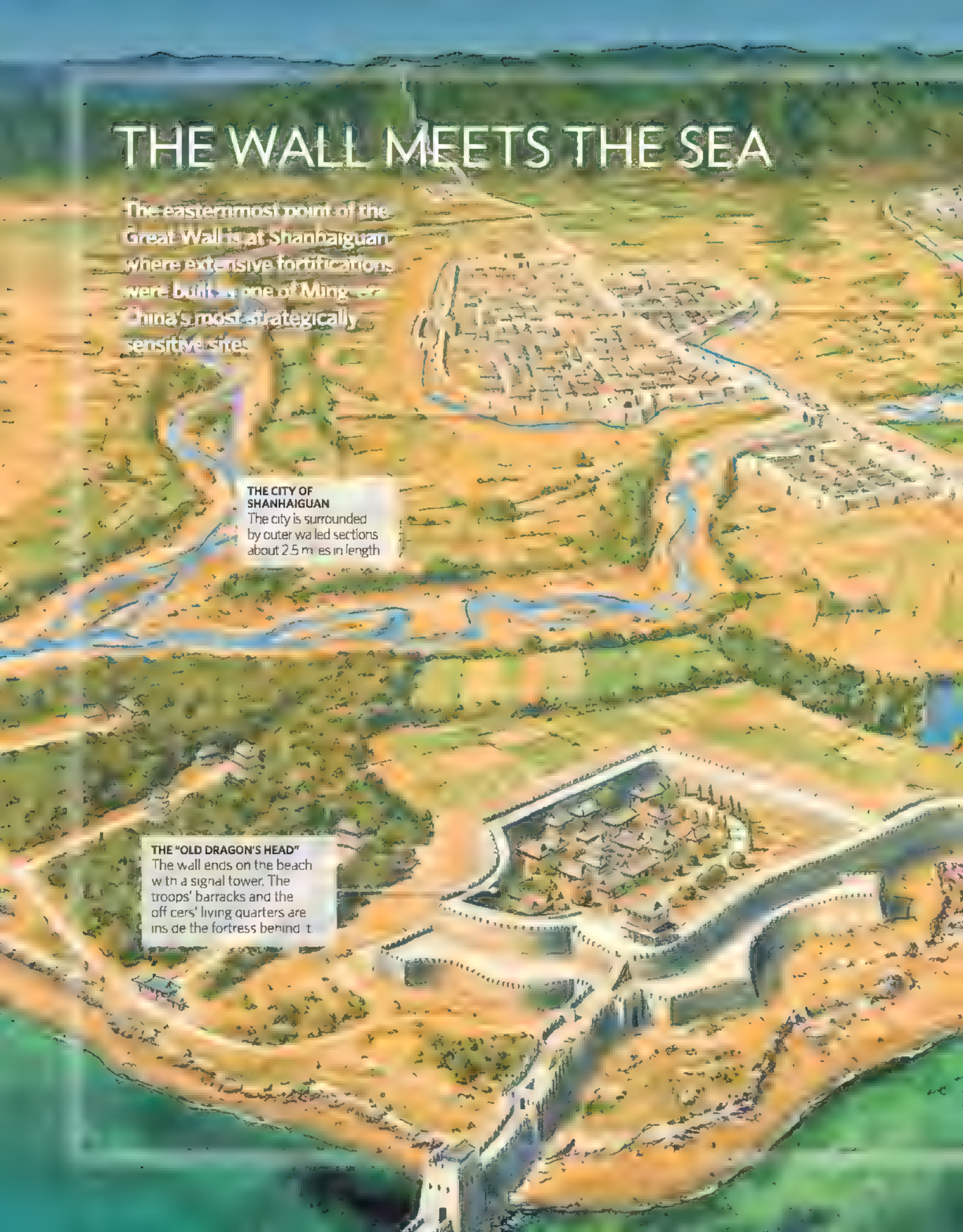
The wall stands as the world's largest military structure and has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage site. It remains a potent symbol of the collective pride of the Chinese people. Even so, China's iconic military monument was an imperfect defense in its long struggle against the irrepressible nomads from the north.

BORJA PELEGERO ALCAIDE
HISTORIAN AND ARCHAEOLOGIST. ALCAIDE HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON MONGOLIAN HISTORY, INCLUDING A BOOK ON GENGHIS KHAN.

PHOTO: AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE WALL MEETS THE SEA

The easternmost point of the Great Wall is at Shanhaiguan, where extensive fortifications were built in one of Ming China's most strategically sensitive sites.



THE CITY OF SHANHAIGUAN
The city is surrounded by outer walled sections about 2.5 miles in length

THE "OLD DRAGON'S HEAD"
The wall ends on the beach with a signal tower. The troops' barracks and the officers' living quarters are inside the fortress behind it.

THE FIRST PASS UNDER THE HEAVENS
One of the most famous gates in the Shanhai Pass is named for the large inscription placed on it in 1920
A WINDING ROUTE
The wall runs a short way along the coast and then turns toward the river and the town itself.

THE "DRAGON" SETS OUT

In this area, the Great Wall is also known as Laolongtou, the "Old Dragon's Head." The wall surrounds the town of Shanhaiguan, which means "between the sea and the mountain." General Xu Da began construction of this stretch in 1381. A large number of forts were built along the wall until it began to rise into the Yan Shan mountains behind the garrison town.

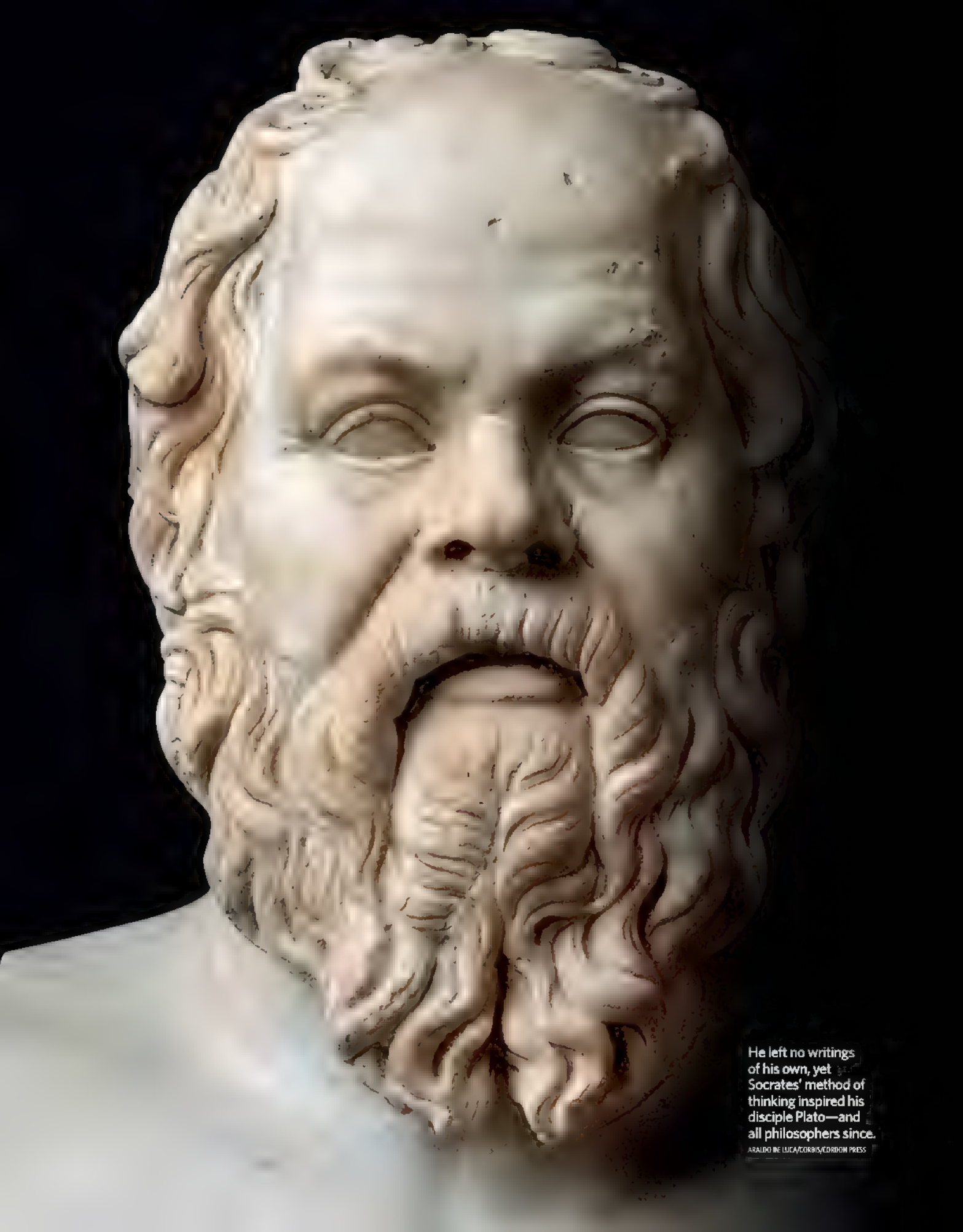
ILLUSTRATION: STEVE NOON/OSPREY PUBLISHING

THE TRIAL OF SOCRATES

Admitting that he knew nothing was one of Greek philosopher Socrates' claims to wisdom. Today, Western thought rests solidly on his teachings, but in his own time, this great thinker was considered dangerous and put on trial, an ordeal which led to his immortality.

In 399 B.C. Athens had not recovered from its defeat in the Peloponnesian War with neighboring Sparta, a conflict that lasted from 431 to 404 B.C. The loss marked the end of the brief Athenian "golden age" of the fifth century. During the war, Sparta had temporarily overthrown Athenian democracy for an oligarchy. After democratic rule was restored to Athens in 403, an uneasy citizenry perceived threats to their traditions in many places, including Socrates' teachings.

The trial of Socrates took place against this backdrop of deep political and intellectual turmoil—a tragic conclusion to the career of the founding father of Western thought. "This indictment and affidavit is sworn by Meletus . . . against Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus of Alopece," ran the text of the charge. "Socrates is guilty of refusing to recognize the gods recognized by the state and introducing other, new divinities. He is also guilty of corrupting the youth. The penalty demanded is death."



He left no writings of his own, yet Socrates' method of thinking inspired his disciple Plato—and all philosophers since.

ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

POWERFUL FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

Nicolas-André Monsiau's painting depicts Socrates visiting Aspasia, Pericles' consort, seen by some as a traitor. Such friendships fueled claims that Socrates' ideas were an affront to deities such as Athena, patron goddess of Athens worshipped at the Parthenon (right).

AKG/ALBUM. JOSÉ PERAL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

In the years leading up to the trial, Athens's political climate was ever changing. At the end of the war, victorious Sparta installed a group of 30 men, later nicknamed the Thirty Tyrants, to rule Athens. In 403 pro-democracy forces ousted them and returned to power.

The resulting truce between backers of the Thirty Tyrants and the restorers of Athenian democracy was uneasy. By 399 the atmosphere remained tense and divided, which ultimately spelled doom for Socrates.

The Charges

Socrates was accused of impiety—*asebeia*—which was a crime under Athenian law. It consisted of actions that demonstrated disrespect to Athenian gods and customs. Diopeithes, who may have been a priest or diviner, had proposed introducing this charge at the height of the Peloponnesian War. Since then, it had proven itself a useful weapon in cases denouncing a political rival. Under Athenian law, the elderly philosopher was to be judged by a jury of citizens, who would pass judgment after hearing both the accuser and the accused.

Political motives lay behind the charges against Socrates. His accuser, an undistinguished young poet named Meletus, was the pawn of two well-known Athenian democratic politicians, Anytus and Lycon. To Socrates' defenders, the aim of the charge was malicious: His accusers wanted to silence him for being

A LIFE OF THE MIND

470 B.C.
Socrates is born in Athens, the son of a midwife and a modest stonemason employed in building the Parthenon.

432 B.C.
During the Peloponnesian War, Socrates fights in the Battle of Potidaea. He saves the life of Alcibiades, later a powerful politician.

A TETRADRACHM WITH THE FACE OF ATHENA, COINED IN ATHENS, N 455 B.C.
MONEY MUSEUM, ZURICH

423 B.C.
Aristophanes mocks Socrates in his comedies. He portrays him as a sophist who is only interested in charging his students.

406 B.C.
As a philosopher, Socrates serves on the Council of the Five Hundred. He criticizes the government of the Thirty Tyrants and is sent to prison.

403 B.C.
Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, dies in battle. Socrates later faces criticism because Critias was a member of his circle.

399 B.C.
Socrates is accused of impiety and corrupting youth. He dies in prison after drinking hemlock. His followers flee to Megara.

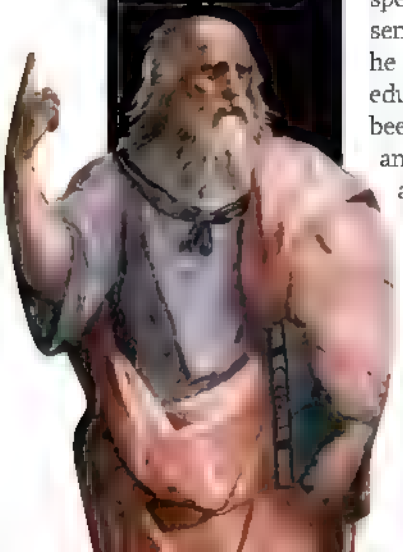
Rebellious Youth

THE ACCUSATION leveled at Socrates, that he "corrupted" young people, had already been made in Aristophanes' famous comedy *The Clouds*. In the play, a young disciple of Socrates uses his teachings to justify assaulting his father. The reference reflects an issue of grave concern to Athens's leaders: the generational conflict that had broken out in the war-torn city at the end of the fifth century B.C.

ALCIBIADES and the young aristocrats who accompanied Socrates have been compared to young rebels in the 1960s. Both groups were known for their provocative style of dress and long hair, as well as for questioning their parents' authority. Socrates was condemned for having encouraged such questioning and subverting the established order

PLATO, DISCIPLE AND HEIR

Although traditionally depicted as an old man (as below, in "The School of Athens" by Raphael), Plato was not yet 30 when Socrates was condemned. He spent the rest of his life preserving his teacher's memory.



critical of traditions. To his detractors, however, Socrates was just one of many sophists, a type of philosopher derided for slippery reasoning, whose "false" wisdom was drawing Athenians away from religion and spreading disturbing ideas among young people. Others recalled that among Socrates' friends were the great military leader Alcibiades and the politician Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, two figures seen as traitors to Athenian democracy.

Plato and Xenophon, two of Socrates' disciples, recorded the philosopher's lengthy defense speech. Rather than beg for mercy, Socrates presented his life as evidence. He had always acted, he said, in the service of the truth and for the education of his fellow citizens. He had never been a sophist, did not charge for his lectures, and did not run a school. He claimed he had always been a good citizen. As proof of the latter, he mentioned that he had fought in the Battles of Potidaea, Amphipolis, and Delium during the Peloponnesian War. He also denied being an enemy of democracy as he had refused, at great personal danger, to obey an order from the Thirty Tyrants.

Socrates insisted that he had no intention of intervening in democratic affairs and processes. He only sought to perfect citizens' morality by encouraging them to gain knowledge of essential matters. Hence his habit of asking people what virtue, justice, piety, and genuine good consisted of, and encouraging them to find answers to those questions without concern for money or power. Socrates even dared remind the jurors that the Delphic oracle named him "the wisest of Greeks." At first, he himself did not understand the oracle's pronouncement; later, he discovered it was because he had admitted that he knew nothing.

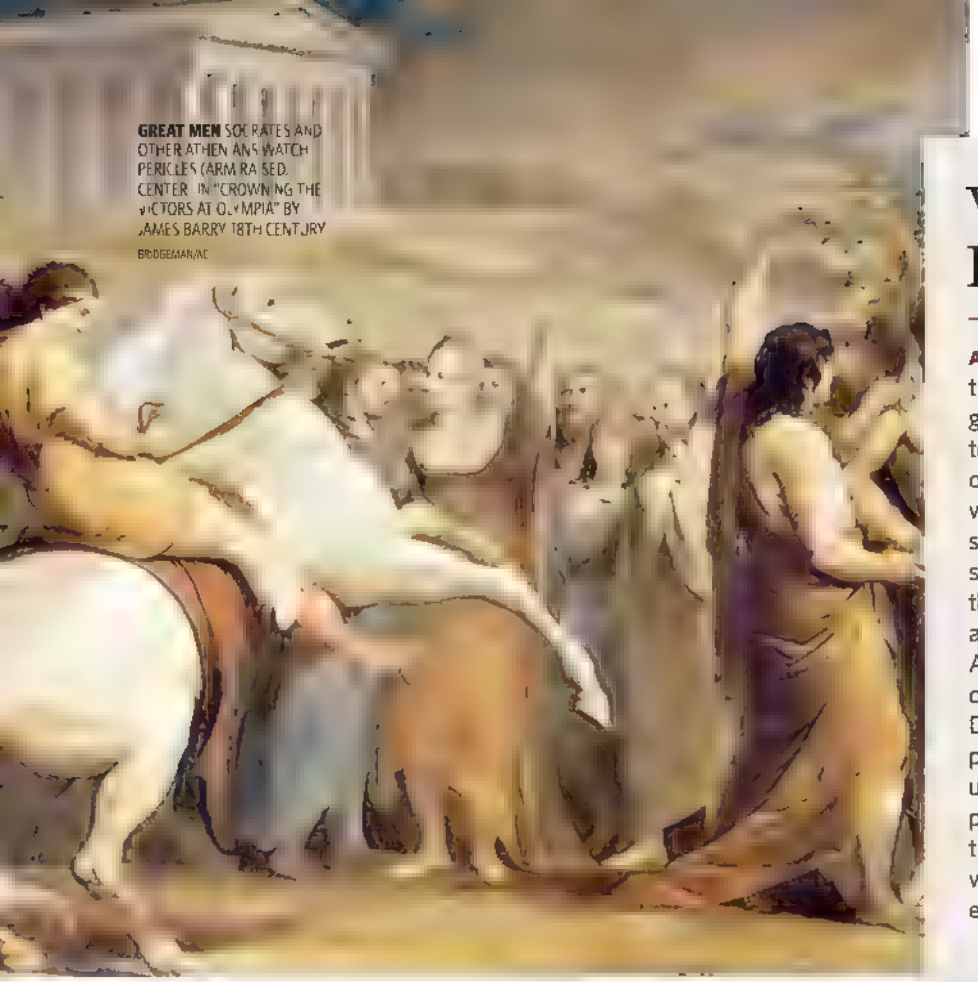
Socrates' defense failed to persuade the jury of his innocence. They found him guilty, albeit by a slim majority. In Athens, those convicted at the first vote had a right to propose an alternative punishment to the one proposed by their accuser. In Socrates' case, the requested penalty was death.

Unbowed, Unbent, Unbroken

The philosopher then gave a second speech in which he reaffirmed his innocence, presenting himself not as a threat to his fellow citizens, but as a beneficial figure. He even proposed that he

SOCRATES AND THE ORACLE

The circular Tholos at Delphi, where the oracle uttered one of Socrates' celebrated paradoxes. Socrates was the wisest of men because he admitted he knew nothing.



GREAT MEN SOCRATES AND OTHER ATHENIANS WATCH PERICLES (ARM RAISED, CENTER) IN "CROWNING THE VICTORS AT OLYMPIA" BY JAMES BARRY 18TH CENTURY

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Victims of Intolerance

ATHENS PUNISHED those who challenged traditional beliefs with philosophical arguments, and Socrates was not the first to fall afoul of such laws. A contemporary of Socrates, Anaxagoras (grouped, left, with Socrates, Euripides, and Pericles), scandalized Athenians by denying the sun and moon were gods—he considered them to be fiery masses of rock—as well as rejecting auguries as a ridiculous belief. According to some authors, he was prosecuted as a result of such unorthodox views. Diagoras of Melos fled from Athens to avoid prosecution for heaping scorn on the Eleusinian Mysteries. Diogenes of Apollonia's physical theories, which included the claim that the true principle of nature was air, were considered controversial enough to endanger his life, according to a later author.

CRACKING WISE
A statuette of Socrates (below) does not reveal the philosopher's funny side. After the trial, a disciple said the hardest thing to accept was that Socrates did not deserve death. The philosopher replied: "Would you feel better if I did?"

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

be allowed to stay in the Prytaneion (the seat of government in Athens), supported by the city as if he were a hero or a winner of the Olympic Games. Socrates added that he would accept a fine but that he was not willing to change his behavior because he did not fear death. Furthermore, the afterlife would be full of exciting opportunities for a philosopher.

"I shall be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge," he is recorded as saying. "I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not . . . What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them and asking them questions!"

A second vote then took place and the jury, believed by scholars to have numbered 501 men, condemned him to death with a majority of 280 votes to 221—a much wider margin than before. Socrates forgave the jurors and argued that no one knew whether life was preferable to death.

Philosophical to the End

Although those condemned to death were usually executed immediately after the verdict was read, in Socrates' case the penalty was delayed for a month. The trial coincided with the Delia, a festival honoring Apollo during which it was against the law to execute anyone.

The *Crito*, a dialogue by Socrates' disciple Plato, recounts how his friends offered him an easy escape from prison, which Socrates refused because he wanted to obey the laws of the city in which he had always lived. In another dialogue, the *Phaedo*, Plato records Socrates' conversation with his friends in his final hours. The philosopher tried to console them by arguing for the immortality of the soul. Socrates finally bade them farewell, drank the hemlock prepared for him, and died with an enigmatic utterance: "We owe a rooster to Asclepius!" As Asclepius is the god of medicine, some interpreted his remark to mean he was about to be healed of the sickness of life, but the exact meaning is uncertain.

Socrates' death soon came to be viewed as a scandalous crime against Athenian democracy. His brave defense in the face of death turned him into an iconic figure in support of intellectual freedom, a thinker nobly prepared to defend his moral convictions no matter what the cost was to himself.

CARLOS GARCÍA GUAL
GARCÍA GUAL IS PROFESSOR OF GREEK PHILOLOGY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID.

STILL STANDING

Work on the Erechtheion and its famous Porch of the Maidens was begun on the Acropolis by one of Socrates' friends, the great statesman Pericles. On completion in 406, war-torn Athens was already facing decline.

THE FINAL LESSON OF SOCRATES

In his dialogue *Phaedo*, Plato left a detailed account of Socrates' last day, as related by the philosopher Phaedo of Elis, who was present. The French painter Jacques-Louis David used this text as the basis for his famous "The Death of Socrates." The 1787 painting shows the moment the philosopher is about to drink the cup of poison at dusk, the time the Athenian authorities set for him to take his own life.

Glowing lamp, showing that the sun had already set

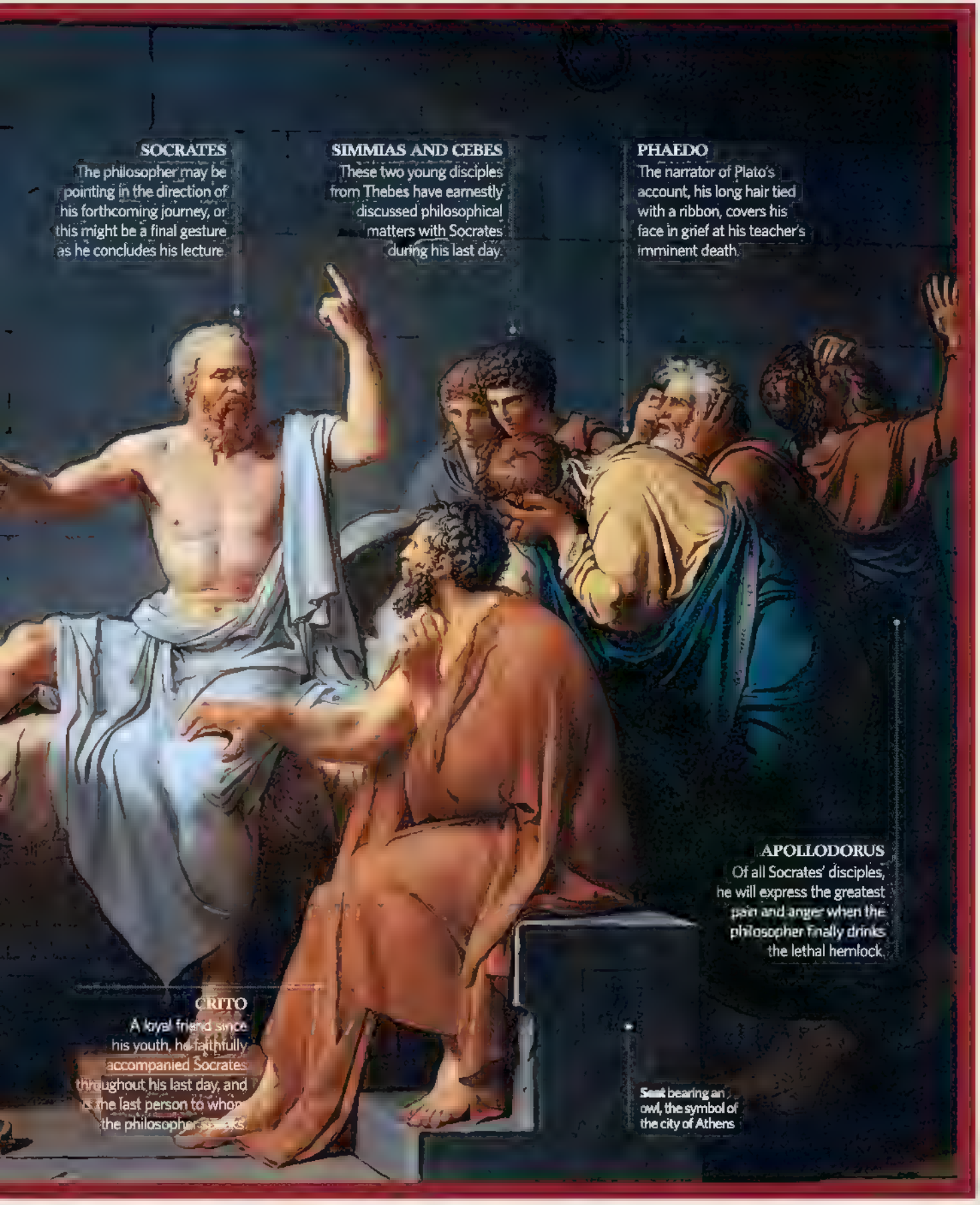
Cup of hemlock handed by the jailer to Socrates

XANTHIPPE
Socrates' wife leaves the prison behind two servants. It is thought they had actually made their farewells earlier in the day.

PLATO
Socrates' great disciple was not at the prison that day, as he was sick. David nevertheless included him in the scene, depicting him as an old man.

JAILER
One of So... jailers (an offic... osen by lot) weep... he hands Socrates the ... of poison

A roll of papyrus with text written by Socrates during his incarceration


SOCRATES
The philosopher may be pointing in the direction of his forthcoming journey, or this might be a final gesture as he concludes his lecture.
SIMMIAS AND CEBES
These two young disciples from Thebes have earnestly discussed philosophical matters with Socrates during his last day.
PHAEDO
The narrator of Plato's account, his long hair tied with a ribbon, covers his face in grief at his teacher's imminent death.
APOLLODORUS
Of all Socrates' disciples, he will express the greatest pain and anger when the philosopher finally drinks the lethal hemlock.
CRITO
A loyal friend since his youth, he faithfully accompanied Socrates throughout his last day, and is the last person to whom the philosopher speaks.
Seat bearing an owl, the symbol of the city of Athens

THE SACK OF ROME

In the early fifth century barbarians ran amok across Europe, and the once mighty Roman Empire could not stop them. In 410 the Visigoths sacked the city—the first hostile occupation in 800 years—which confirmed what was plain to see: The era of Rome's dominance was over.

Thomas Cole's 1836 painting "The Course of Empire: Destruction" depicts the Visigoths' sack of Rome in 410, an event that has haunted

Barbarians at the Gates

376
Driven out of their central European lands by the Huns, the Visigoths ask to settle on land within the Roman Empire.

378
The Visigoths defeat the Romans at the Battle of Adrianople, in which the Roman emperor Valens is slain.

382
Emperor Theodosius I allows the Visigoths to settle in the provinces between the Danube River and the Balkans.

395
Theodosius dies. His sons Honorius and Arcadius take control of the western and eastern halves of the empire.

401
The Visigoth king Alaric enters Italy to seek a treaty with Rome. In 402 one of Honorius' generals, Stilicho, defeats him.

408
Stilicho is deposed and executed. Shortly after, Alaric returns to Italy and this time besieges Rome.

409
While Honorius is in Ravenna, Alaric supports a coup in Rome, in which Flavius Priscus Attalus is proclaimed emperor.

410
Alaric lays waste to Rome in a three-day spree of burning and pillage. Alaric dies later that year and is succeeded by Ataulphus.

ROME'S LINGERING GRANDEUR
The ruins of the Roman Forum retain their magnificence despite the passage of time. In the fifth century the Forum was still home to the Senate and a symbol of Rome's steadfast endurance.
GIOVANNI RINALDI

After Augustus became emperor in 27 B.C., the Roman Empire took its place at the center of the Western world and held it for nearly six centuries. A dominant force in culture, economics, politics, engineering, and military might, the empire controlled territory stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Caspian Sea. At its heart was Rome, the glorious capital city. But the center could not hold forever, and Rome's fortunes began to decline in the third and fourth centuries. The events leading to the fall of Rome would prove to be as dramatic as those of its rise.

In the fourth century Rome's glory days were far behind it. Limited resources strained the empire as encroaching "barbarians"—the Germanic tribes—loomed along its northern borders. To address the threat, the empire's power bases moved farther from Rome to manage the conflicts on the frontier. In the western Roman Empire, emperors in this period started to live in cities such as Trier, Milan, and Aquileia, located in modern-day Germany and northern Italy.

As the empire's power weakened, the city of Rome also diminished in political and military importance but remained an attractive target to its enemies. A potent symbol of wealth, Rome represented the empire itself and retained an aura of magnificence through the buildings and improvements made by earlier emperors.

To protect itself, Rome built up its defenses at the beginning of the fifth century. The city walls were doubled in height, the gates were fortified, and the city placed on alert. In 406 groups of Suebi, Vandals, and Alans crossed the Rhine, occupying parts of Gaul. It was the latest in a series of threats against an empire reeling from the attack by another Germanic people that had been prowling its borders for years—the Visigoths.

Eastern Conquests

At the end of the fourth century, the Visigoths found their land and resources increasingly encroached upon by the Huns, and were looking to expand into territory lying within the Roman Empire. After numerous clashes with the Roman army in the Balkans, the Roman emperor Theodosius I reached an agreement with the Visigoths in 382. They would be recognized as an independent nation under the nominal leadership of the emperor. The Visigoths occupied terrain to the south of the Danube and, in return for a subsidy, provided much needed recruits for the Roman army.

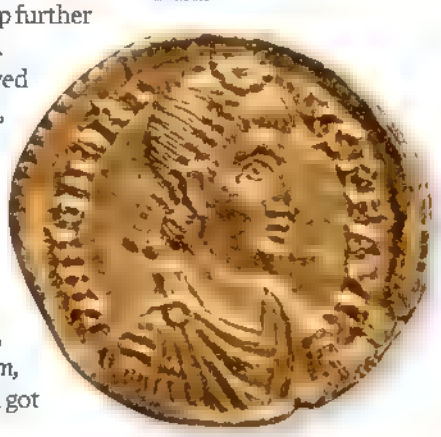
Theodosius died in 395 and his two sons, 18-year-old Arcadius and 10-year-old Honorius, succeeded him. Arcadius controlled the eastern half of the empire, and Honorius, the western half. The new, inexperienced leadership further weakened the fragile Visigoth alliance.

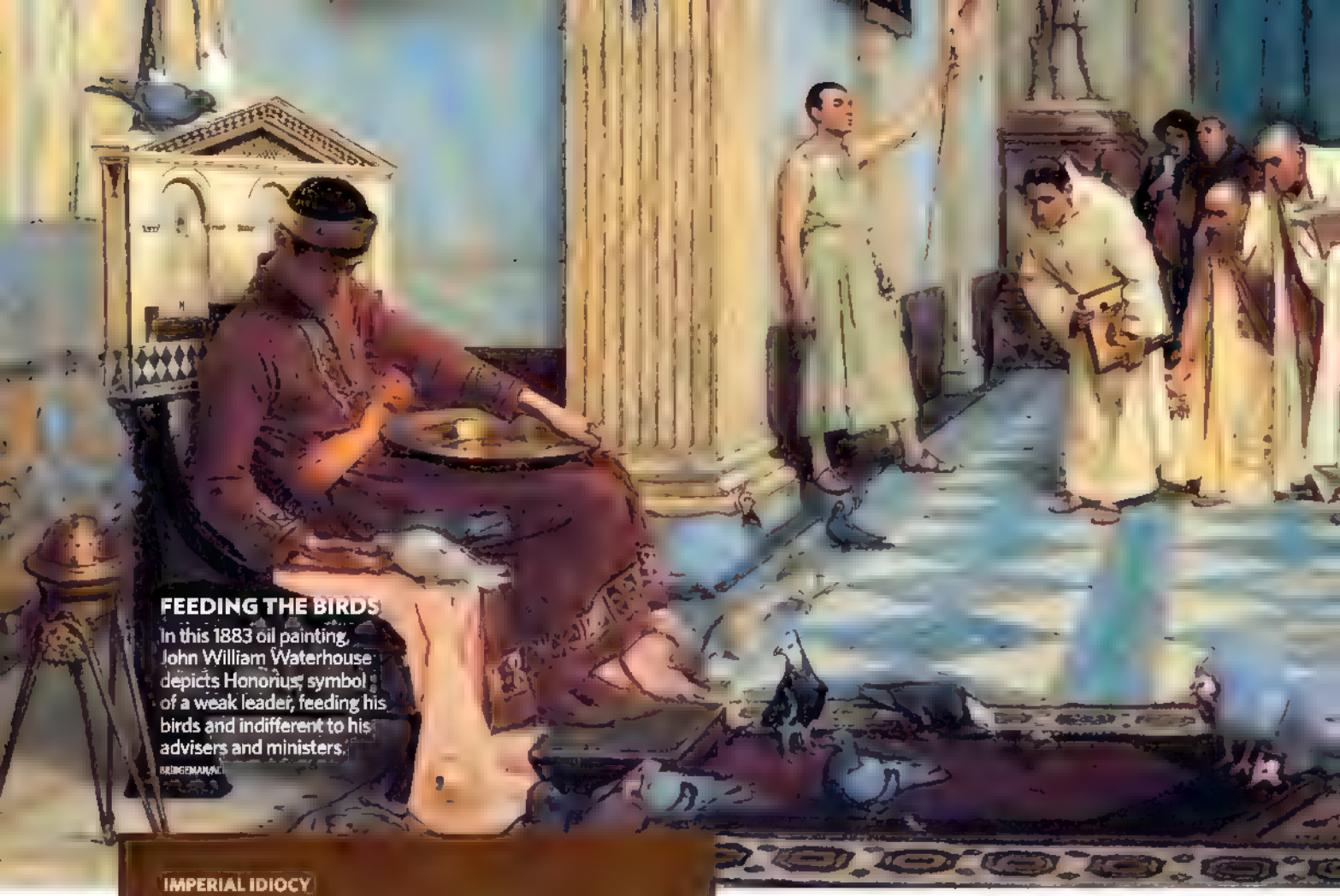
The Visigoths believed they were owed subsidies by the empire. Their leader, Alaric, a former commander in the Roman army, marched on Constantinople to demand that Emperor Arcadius bestow them. At first, Arcadius refused, which caused the Visigoths to plunder ports and cities in Greece. To stop the bleeding, Arcadius relented, and appointed Alaric *magister militum*, master of soldiers, in the east. Having got

THE HIGH COST OF OBSTINACY

The stubborn refusal of Emperor Honorius—depicted below on a gold coin—to negotiate with Alaric led to the first foreign occupation of Rome in eight centuries.

ART ARCHIVE





FEEDING THE BIRDS
In this 1883 oil painting, John William Waterhouse depicts Honorius, symbol of a weak leader, feeding his birds and indifferent to his advisers and ministers.
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

IMPERIAL IDIOCY

STILICHO'S DEATH

When the emperor Honorius came to the imperial throne, he was only ten years old. The empire had been divided between him and his brother, the western part controlled by Honorius and the eastern part by his older brother, Arcadius. His youth and inexperience led to his quickly gaining a reputation for weakness and incompetency. Instead of engaging in military and political matters, he reportedly spent his days feeding birds in the imperial precinct. He was dominated by his regents and advisers, who bent him to their will. In 408 they pushed him into making the most disastrous decision of his reign: the execution of Stilicho, the general who had managed to hold the barbarians at bay on the frontiers for two decades. Accused of complicity with the invaders to overthrow the emperor, Honorius had Stilicho arrested in Ravenna and immediately decapitated. Historians say that Honorius' misdeeds and poorly thought out actions led directly to the sack of Rome, following which he faced a long series of threats to the imperial throne until his death, from dropsy, in 423.

what he wanted, and secured his title in the east, Alaric decided to head west with his troops.

Westward to Rome

On arriving in Italy in 401, Alaric conquered Venice and the fertile plain of the Po River, near present-day Turin. Although the Visigoths benefited from provisions as they advanced through Italy, Alaric was concerned at the long-term prospects of feeding his troops. He determined to present his demands to the emperor Honorius at his imperial residence in Milan.

Forcing through an easy truce with the Romans in the western empire was not to be. Flavius Stilicho, a general who was himself of non-Roman origin, stood in Alaric's way. Stilicho had been a hugely influential figure under Theodosius' rule, helping to unite the empire. He exercised supreme control over the western army as magister militum. Stilicho gained even more power after Theodosius died, working closely to guide the inexperienced Honorius.

Alaric's men were unable to break through the defensive forces outside Milan, and Alaric was

forced to change course and move south to Pollentia, where his troops clashed with Stilicho's Roman soldiers. After a close battle, the Visigoth forces were defeated. Stilicho and his men captured the Visigoth camp and Alaric's wife and sons. Stilicho gave Alaric an ultimatum: Leave the Italian peninsula or never see the hostages again. After a last-ditch attempt against the Roman forces at Verona, Alaric complied.

In triumph, Honorius traveled to Rome where he paid his respects to the Senate in an attempt to consolidate political unity. Fearing that the recent victory over the Visigoths would be short-lived, Stilicho, meanwhile, decided to transfer the court from Milan to Ravenna, near the Adriatic coast, a port city protected by swamps and fortifications. Neither the emperor's gestures to the Senate, nor his general's strategic shift would be enough to avert the coming catastrophe.

The First Siege

Stilicho managed to forge an arrangement with the Visigoths under which they could remain in the western empire but under his military command. The wider threat of border incursions was growing ever more grave. Having crossed the Rhine, the Vandals and Alans were gradually gaining ground. In Britain and Gaul support was gathering around the usurper Flavius Claudius Constantinus. Stilicho believed the Visigoths' military strength could stem the tide.

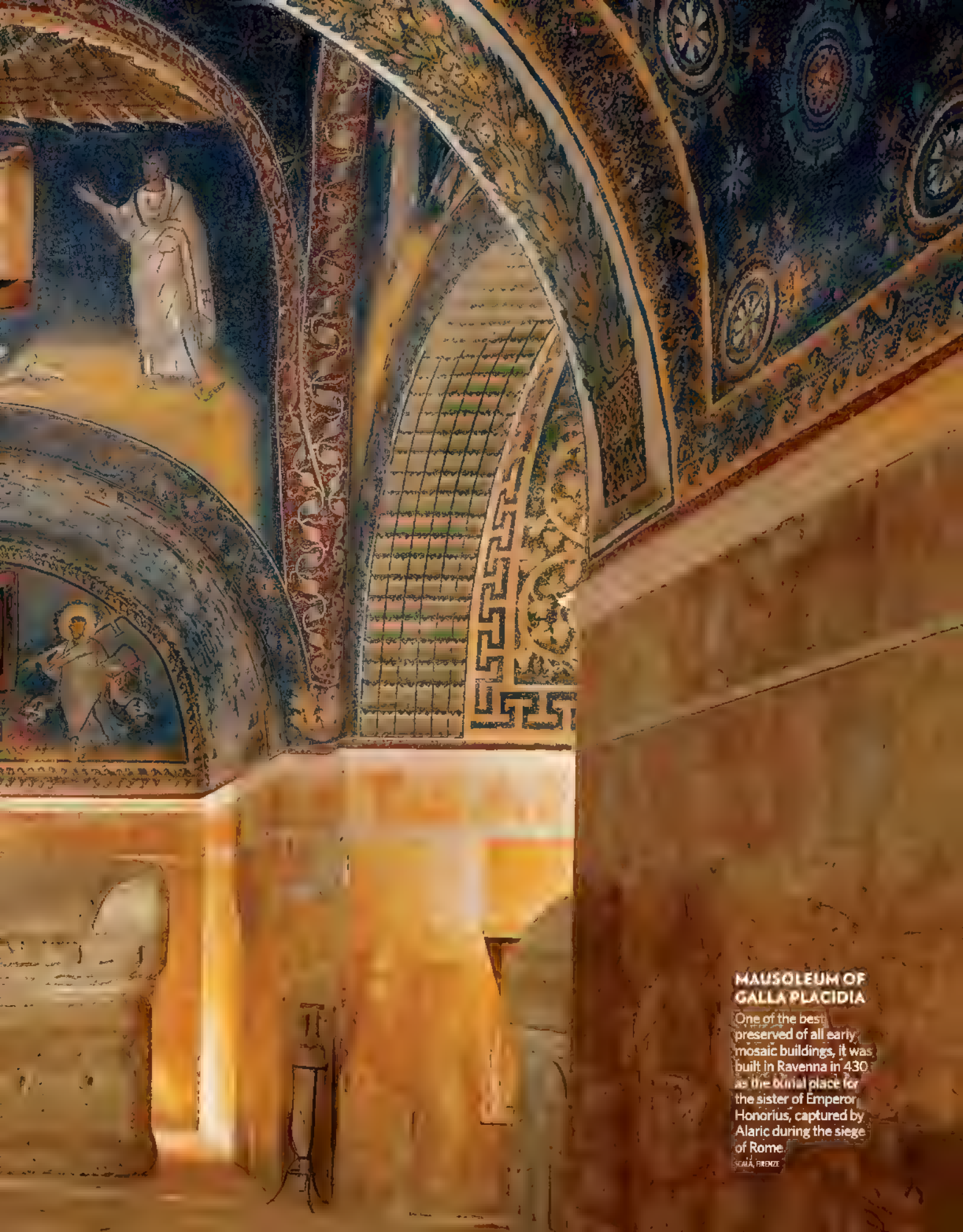
But Alaric's men did not come cheap, and Stilicho had to persuade the Senate for the funds necessary to pay them—a deeply unpopular measure. Opponents circulated treasonous rumors that Stilicho sought to seize power for himself, which reached the emperor's ears. In 408 Honorius sided with Stilicho's detractors and had him arrested and then executed. With Stilicho dead, the hard-liners, who opposed brokering any kind of deal with the Germanic invaders, gained the political ascendency and scuttled Stilicho's agreement with the Visigoths.

Released from any binding commitment to protect the empire, Alaric's reaction was immediate. He reentered the Italian peninsula and marched on Milan, from where Honorius fled to take refuge in Ravenna. Unwilling to attack this

MILAN, CAPITAL OF THE WEST

Until it was moved to Ravenna in 404, the capital of the western Roman Empire was Milan, home to such splendid early Christian monuments as the fourth-century Basilica of St. Ambrose (above).

GRAND TOUR COLLECTION/CORBIS; GORDON PRESS



MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA

One of the best preserved of all early mosaic buildings, it was built in Ravenna in 430 as the burial place for the sister of Emperor Honorius, captured by Alaric during the siege of Rome.

SCALA, FIRENZE

PILLAGE, POWER, AND POLITICS

Entangling alliances and political marriages linked Roman and Visigoth fortunes leading up to and following the sack of Rome in 410

ATTALUS TRAITOROUS PREFECT

In an attempt to usurp Honorius in 409, the Visigoths proclaimed the city [illegible] in the west. But in 410, Attalus lost this position, Ataulphus, Alaric's successor, kept Attalus around and took him to Gaul with [illegible] Placidia. The Visigoths later backed Attalus [illegible] In 415, he returned Attalus to Honorius in Ravenna where he was maimed before being sent into exile.

ROME, IN A MEDIEVAL MAP. ATTALUS WAS PREFECT OF THE CITY.

SCALA, FIRENZE

THE GATES OF THE NORTH

The Porta N gra (Black Gate) opens into a res dence of the western Roman emperor in the city of Trier, Germany The residence was a favorite target for attacks by northern tribes throughout the fourth and fifth centuries.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

stronghold, the Visigoth chieftain led his forces instead to Rome. The city shut its newly fortified gates against them, but the Visigoths managed to take the city's harbor, Portus Augusti, at the mouth of the Tiber.

Dependent on its harbor for provisions, Rome was now effectively under siege. Alaric demanded all the gold and silver in the city, as well as the release of all barbarian slaves. According to the historian Zosimus, when the Roman delegates asked Alaric what he would let them keep, he replied simply, "Your lives."

Rome Surrounded

This moment of crisis highlighted just how much power Rome had lost. It had been decades since the Senate in Rome had truly represented the imperial aristocracy or had been an effective advisory body to the emperor. Its members—aristocratic landowners of extensive terrains spread throughout the provinces—had become disenfranchised under the emperor Theodosius, who had created a new and loyal civil service class.

This distancing had a religious element, too. While Theodosius had Christianized the empire, pagan opposition still predominated in the Senate in Rome. Christianity had undoubtedly spread to some extent among the nobility there, but many voices still claimed that Theodosius' conversion to Christianity would bring about his downfall. The nobility in Rome considered themselves to be guardians of the city's glorious past and of the faith in the ancient Roman gods. It was these gods, many believed, who had made the empire great and powerful. Theodosius' decision to impose Christianity was a betrayal, which they feared would lead to disaster.

In 408, seeing themselves surrounded by Alaric's forces, the citizens of Rome were all too aware of their isolation. They could not expect outside help from the de facto imperial capital in Ravenna. Inside the city, the situation had become intolerable. Fear and paranoia ruled the day. Christians and pagans blamed each other for what was happening. Purges were launched against anyone thought to be a barbarian sympathizer.

ALARIC
TRIUMPHANT CONQUEROR

[illegible] he led[illegible] ing the Visigoth forces to Sicily was sunk in [illegible] side the hoards of treasure he had amassed [illegible] turned to its natural course so that it covered their leader's tomb. All the slaves who had taken part in the burial preparations were [illegible] they could not reveal the location of the sepulchre. Alaric's nephew Ataulphus succeeded him as chief of the Visigoths.

ALARIC I. STATUE IN NATIONAL ROMAN MUSEUM, BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN, ROME

HONORIUS
INCOMPETENT EMPEROR

After Alaric's death, Honorius still faced many adversaries. In Gaul a usurper tried [illegible] against other groups of barbarians who had penetrated the empire in Hispania. Honorius, who had no sons, named Constantius [illegible] succeeded by his nephew Emperor Valentinian III.

EMPEROR HONORIUS. MARBLE CARVING. CATHEDRAL TREASURY MUSEUM, AOSTA

GALLA PLACIDIA
POLITICAL PAWN

When she was captured by the Visigoths during the siege of Rome, Galla Placidia, sis- [illegible] Ataulphus, Alaric's successor, later married her in Narbonne, and they had a son who died soon after. Ataulphus was assassinated [illegible] horse. Sigeric was in turn assassinated and Wallia, his successor, returned Galla Placidia to her brother in Ravenna. There she married the co-emperor Constantius and bore a son, the future Valentinian III. When [illegible] acted as regent on his accession [illegible] later she dedicated herself to Christian works until her death in 450.

GALLA PLACIDIA. BYZANTINE GOLD COIN CONVERTED INTO A MEDALLION

The senators struggled to keep negotiations with Alaric going, hoping they could get him to reduce his demands. Finally, Alaric agreed to 5,000 pounds of gold and 3,000 pounds of silver as well as silk tunics, purple cloth, and the release of all barbarian slaves. Religious statues had to be disrobed in order to provide silk for the ransom that would pay for their release, fanning the flames of religious tension between Christians and pagans.

After Alaric had raised this siege, his army had become the greatest military force in the territory, thanks to his recruiting of the freed barbarian slaves. The chieftain knew, however, that one victory would not be enough. The 40,000 men who now served him had to be fed. The gold and silver he had seized would not last long. So Alaric reentered negotiations with Honorius and again pushed for military honors in the western empire, money, and land where he could settle his people. But as the months passed, Honorius continued to reject Alaric's demands. Enraged, Alaric decided to take direct action against Rome.

No longer content with simply looting the city, the Visigoth king now set his sights on power. Alaric already knew enough about Roman hierarchies to use this to his advantage. At the end of October 409, the Visigoth army once again massed at the gates of the city. But this time Alaric's intention was not a siege. He asked that the Senate spurn Honorius' authority and appoint a new emperor, a request that did not fall on deaf ears. The pagan nobility were keen to listen to Alaric, in part wanting to avert another siege as well as a chance to restore fealty to the traditional gods of Rome. They turned to Flavius Priscus Attalus, a respected prefect, who was proclaimed emperor in a ceremony that followers of Honorius immediately condemned as an attempted coup.

Alaric, meanwhile, had once again occupied Portus Augusti in an attempt to pressure Attalus into meeting his demands. Attalus succumbed and gave Alaric the titles he desired, as well as sharing out honors among the Visigoth chiefs. Galla Placidia,

ALARIC'S NEMESIS

Half Roman, half Vandal, Stilicho rose to power under Emperor Theodosius. The only surviving likeness of him appears on a relief from the Basilica of St. John the Baptist in Monza, Italy.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

SAFEKEEPING
The owners of this golden casket hurriedly buried it to hide it from Alaric's troops as they stormed Rome.

HIDDEN HOARD

PRECIOUS THINGS

Roman senators and other influential families felt that Alaric's last siege would end in the city's being sacked. So much had been taken by the Visigoths during the first two sieges that there was little of value left in Rome. If the soldiers infiltrated the city, they knew that Alaric's forces would seize everything they could, which led to families squirreling away what remained of their valuables. Niches were carved into walls and patios excavated in order to make secret hiding places for the precious belongings they hoped to save from the looters. Valuables once belonging to a noblewoman, Projecta, were hurriedly buried on Esquiline Hill. Among the items hidden was a chest made of silver and gold. It was decorated with mythological scenes, including Venus bathing and a sea nymph riding a hippocampus. A portrait of a husband and wife appears on the golden lid of the casket (above), and is accompanied by an inscription that reads: "Secundus and Projecta, may you live in Christ." The chest remained hidden for centuries, unclaimed by its original owners, until its discovery at the end of the 18th century.

Honorius' sister was captured by Alaric. She represented the Christian faction in Rome and could serve as a bargaining chip in future accords with Ravenna.

Alaric knew, however, the attempted coup could only prosper if he could continue to support his army. He looked to gain the support of the African provinces and the income from their taxes, but they remained loyal to Honorius, and the interruption in the supply line made the coup attempt futile. Following its failure, Alaric won back Honorius' favor by deposing the usurper Attalus. For a short time, relations between Honorius and Alaric became a little less hostile.

The Final Blow

As alliances and counteralliances swiftly shifted, it was obvious that the truce could not endure. A minor skirmish, possibly unintended, convinced Alaric that Honorius was not to be trusted and for the third time the Visigoth king threatened Rome. The city was in no condition, either militarily or politically, to withstand

yet another siege. On the night of August 24, 410, the Salarian Gate was opened, and the Visigoths flooded into the city.

How the gate came to be opened remains a mystery. One account suggests that it was opened by slaves who had been given as a gift from Alaric to the Senate, as a gesture of goodwill. The other version, much told in pagan circles, accused Christians of the treachery.

For three days, the Visigoths plundered Rome. Despite evidence that Alaric attempted to control his troops, looting, assault, rape, and murder occurred throughout the city. Fires were started and sacred precincts looted, including those of Christians. Amid the frenzy, the cupola above the altar in the Basilica of St. John Lateran disappeared. Made with 1,600 pounds of silver, it had been a gift from Constantine. The areas of the city where the senators lived were set ablaze, although the center of the city escaped relatively unscathed.

Alaric finally gave the command to withdraw. Rome was devastated. Storehouses were empty. Houses and temples were stripped of anything valuable. Hostages were taken. And the world looked on in disbelief: An early Christian leader, Jerome described it when he wrote, "The city which had taken the world was itself taken."

Alaric's triumph would be short-lived. He made the decision to head south to Sicily. A storm destroyed the fleet that he had seized in Reggio, and soon after, Alaric fell ill and died. His sudden demise was attributed by many Romans—invoking either the new Christian god or the old deities—as divine retribution for his impious pillaging of the Eternal City.

For Rome, the sack was a fatal wound from which it would never recover. A second sack came in 455 when the Vandals plundered the city for 14 days. In 476 Odoacer, a German chieftain, deposed the last Roman emperor of the west, Romulus Augustulus. The eastern empire would survive, but the age of Rome had ended.

JUAN MANUEL CORTÉS COPETE
IS AN AUTHOR AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY AT PABLO DE OLAVIDE UNIVERSITY IN SEVILLE, SPAIN.

DECLINE AND FALL

St. Augustine and other Christian authors attributed the sack of Rome to the decadent behavior of its citizens, a view reflected in "Romans During the Decadence," painted by Thomas Couture in 1847.
AKG/ALBUM

UNDER ATTACK
State-backed privateers seize a British ship in this painting by Louis Garneray. Pirates often attacked ships for loot such as gold doubloons. This one (opposite) was struck in 1714 toward the end of the Caribbean's golden age of piracy

AKG/ALBUM; BRIDGEMAN/ACI

PIRACY'S GOLDEN AGE

At the dawn of the 18th century, pirates prowled the Caribbean and the Atlantic in search of wealthy ships to plunder. Their true histories and colorful legends remain forever intertwined.

Pirate ships, treasure maps, and bottles of rum are just a few of the things that come to mind when thinking of pirates. These popular symbols and many others have their origins in the golden age of piracy, a period that began around 1500 and lasted for 300 years. During this time, the Caribbean islands and coasts of the Americas were the dynamic center of a trade empire linking Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Heavily laden trading ships carried slaves, sugar, precious metals, tobacco, and coffee among all three and generated enormous wealth for the dominant colonial powers: England, France, Holland, Portugal, and Spain. As trade boomed, so did piracy. By the 18th century thousands of pirates terrorized the rich merchant vessels and eluded the naval attempts to capture them.

DIVIDING UP THE BOOTY
Howard Pyle's illustrations (above) for "The Fate of a Treasure-Town," a pirate tale he wrote in 1905, are imbued with color, romance, and adventure.
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

A Pirate by Any Other Name

Part of the romantic myth of piracy is the colorful terminology. In the second half of the 16th century some of the most famous pirates were sponsored by European nations. Called "privateers," these pirates had government commissions to seize the ships, both trading and naval, of an enemy. Some of these pirates, such as the explorer Sir Francis Drake, were often regarded as patriotic national heroes. Drake was able to carry out his exploits because he was the bearer of an all-important letter of marque, issued by Queen Elizabeth I in 1572, which gave him the right to raid Spanish ships.

Corsairs were typically privateers sailing along the Barbary Coast in northern Africa in the 16th century; later, the word would be broadly applied to pirates in general. The terms "buccaneer" and "freebooter" arose in the 17th century. Buccaneers were adventurers who settled in Hispaniola, the island today divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. They lived off the meat of wild cattle, which they preserved using an indigenous smoking method called *boucan*. In the mid-17th century they started to engage in piracy, just like the freebooters, a term deriving from the Dutch word *vrijbuiter*, "a person who freely takes booty."

Living the Life

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht brought peace to the warring nations of Europe. As a consequence,

AKG/ALBUM

PIRACY'S SWIFT DECLINE

1674
Henry Morgan, a Welsh buccaneer, retires from a career of plundering the Spanish Main to become deputy governor of Jamaica

1714
Piracy ranks swell as the Spanish War of Succession ends. Benjamin Hornigold turns Nassau in the Bahamas into a pirate stronghold.

SPANISH RAPIER, CIRCA 1650. LATER MOST PIRATES PREFERRED THE SHORTER SMALLSWORD

KEEPING PIRATES AT BAY

1717
King George I of Britain issues a decree to eradicate piracy, in which he offers a royal pardon to those who give up criminal activities.

1718
Blackbeard dies in combat when his ship is attacked off the coast of North Carolina by Lt. Robert Maynard's forces.

1720
Calico Jack is hanged in Jamaica. Two years later, Black Bart dies in a British attack, drawing the golden age to a close.

1724
Charles Johnson (perhaps a pseudonym of Daniel Defoe) publishes *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates.*

COVETED WEALTH

The Fortaleza San Felipe in the Dominican Republic harbor of Puerto Plata was built by Spain's King Philip I to protect the wealthy port from pirates and corsairs.

ANGELO CAVALLI/AGE FOTOSTOCK

their navies demobilized, and a large number of sailors needed to find work. Many of them found that freelance piracy could be a viable second career. Others were sailors who had served on merchant vessels where poor pay and terrible onboard conditions often spurred them into piracy. Pirate ranks also swelled after the capture of enemy vessels, and not all captured crews necessarily had to be forced to join their opponents. Many made the transition voluntarily.

Although there were a few notorious female pirates, most pirates were young men. At the beginning of the 18th century, their average age was 27—the same as sailors on merchant vessels and in the British Navy. Crews were diverse with a variety of ethnic backgrounds, including European, Native American, and African. Black men often saw piracy as an alternative to a life in slavery, but they came to these ships for many reasons. Some were freemen, others escaped slaves. Some were mutinous sailors, and others may have been captured by pirates themselves.

A tough way of life, requiring good health, physical strength, and endurance, youth was an important qualification for the job. Almost all pirates were unmarried. Most pirate captains preferred a romantically unattached crew, as they were less likely to desert for family reasons. It is estimated that between 1716 and 1726 just 4 percent of pirates were married.

Crews varied greatly in number. The average size was around 80 men, many more than the usual crew of a merchant ship, which often counted no more than 20. The intimidating sight of a shipload of pirates bearing down on a smaller, outnumbered crew must have been terrifying.

Piracy was not necessarily a lifelong commitment. Apart from those who were captured and executed by the authorities, many men might retire after a few years, once they had seized enough money to settle down to a quieter, more routine life. After stopping for repairs just off the African coast at Cape Verde, Captain Johnson relates how the Welsh pirate Howell Davis left five crew members behind who had fallen in love with local women. In 1709 47 women, who were wives and relatives of pirates and buccaneers in Madagascar, sent Queen Anne of England a petition for amnesty.

Many sources from the era give scholars insights into the pirate culture between 1715 and 1725. One key, if possibly embellished, account is

LEGENDS VERSUS REALITY

Popular pirate motifs are found in storybooks and history books. Where do these myths come from?

1 Were the crews an ethnic "melting pot"?

THE PIRATES who terrorized ships sailing the Caribbean in the 18th century certainly came from many different European countries, including England, Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal. But the majority of the crews were from English-speaking nations, many born in the colonies of the New World, including Jamaica, Barbados, and the Bahamas. A considerable number of pirates were of African descent. Blackbeard's crew was 60 percent black, and two pirate ships, whose captains are unknown, were almost 100 percent black.

MOTLEY CREW ARTIST BERNARD GRIBBLE'S DEPICTION OF PIRATE LIFE

PRISMA ARCHIVO

2 Did they bury treasure?

THE WIDESPREAD belief that pirates hid the booty stolen from galleons on deserted islands may be based on stories that the pirate Henry Morgan had hidden treasure somewhere in the Bahamas. Adventurers continue looking for the hoard reportedly buried by the pirate Captain Kidd, a treasure-hunting fervor no doubt fueled by Robert Louis Stevenson's 1883 novel, *Treasure Island*.

GOLD DOUBLOON AND RING FROM THE 1717 SHIPWRECK OF THE PIRATE SHIP *WHYDAH*

CORBIS/CYMON PRESS

3 Were they bandits or freedom fighters?

MANY PIRATES WERE sailors who had mutinied against former captains. When they became pirates, they created a kind of brotherhood and distributed their wealth more or less equally among each other. There were whole communities governed by pirates, such as the Brethren of the Coast on the island of Tortuga near Hispaniola, and, in the 18th century, the Republic of Pirates in Nassau. Freedom was a perk, but money and goods were their main motivation.

4 Was bigger really better, when it came to ships?

FLEETS OF SMALL pirate ships sometimes managed to capture larger vessels, which they turned into their flagships. One such case was *Fortune*, a French warship captured by Bartholomew Roberts in 1720, which he converted into the imposing *Royal Fortune*. But most pirates normally attacked smaller, poorly armed merchant vessels with small crews. Much of the take often consisted of the ship's equipment and basic necessities.

ART ARCHIVE

5 How flamboyant was pirate clothing?

IN GENERAL, pirates wore variations of the traditional sailors' uniform: a short blue jacket over a loose-fitting shirt, baggy canvas pants, a vest, and scarf. Fancier accessories made of silk, satin, and velvet, which pirates are often depicted wearing in books and films, might have come from clothing taken from passengers of wealthy ships.

6 Eye patches and wooden legs?

MISSING LIMBS WERE not just fiction. Pirates risked serious injury from the tough, violent life at sea. Arms, legs, and eyes were the body parts most commonly lost. In these cases, there was a compensation system for pirates crippled in combat.

ART ARCHIVE

LONG JOHN SILVER, ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON'S MOST FAMOUS FICTIONAL PIRATE, HAD ONE LEG.

BLASTING THE BUCCANEERS

Construction of Brimstone Hill on St. Kitts began at the height of the golden age to protect the British colony from the dual threat of rogue pirates and the French

GAVIN HELLIER/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates, published in 1724 by Captain Charles Johnson (some historians suggest Johnson was a pseudonym of Daniel Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*). Correspondence, colonial and naval reports, statements by former captives of pirates, and newspaper articles also provide a wealth of information about piracy during those years, helping historians understand how pirates lived in that period.

Pirate Ships

During the golden age, many pirates had the best equipped and most advanced ships of that time. Fast and maneuverable, sloops were the pirate craft of choice, 40 feet long with one or two sets of oars, and armed with up to ten cannon. Crews aimed to capture larger boats, such as three-masted ships, which would then be armed with up to 30 cannon. Such vessels enabled them to engage warships. Blackbeard's ship *Queen Anne's Revenge* reportedly had 40 guns, and Bartholomew Roberts's *Royal Fortune* carried 42.

Many accounts of pirates' lives aboard their ships comes from captives. "It was not long before I realized that any death was preferable to being trapped among such an infamous bunch of crooks," reads one statement from 1722. "[Their] entertainment consisted of uncontrolled drinking, monstrous cursing, horrendous blaspheming, shameless defiance of the heavens and mocking of the fires of hell. Only sleep put paid to the noise and carousing."

There is no doubt pirate ships did not instill the same rigid discipline as merchant ships or the navy, partly because the work could be shared among a larger crew, so they had free time for drinking, gambling, and music. There were frequent fights, as was only natural among crews that were united by a desire for sacking and looting rather than national loyalties.

Even so, other witnesses say pirate ships were not just a free-for-all. To maintain the crew and ship, they had to organize guard duties, assign sailing tasks, and administer provisions. Some crews, such as that of Bart Roberts, had codes of conduct: gambling, fighting, and belowdecks drinking were banned, and each man's share of provisions, clothes, and, of course, booty, was assigned in advance. Captains also had absolute authority during pirate attacks.

Such rules were often approved by the entire crew who, in turn, elected their captains. This organization is strikingly different from the hierarchical arrangements on naval vessels. At their best, pirate crews were often highly meritocratic. The best qualified members—those with nautical knowledge or the strong personality needed to maintain order among natural rebels in an undisciplined setting—quickly rose through the ranks, regardless of social rank.

Hideouts and Havens

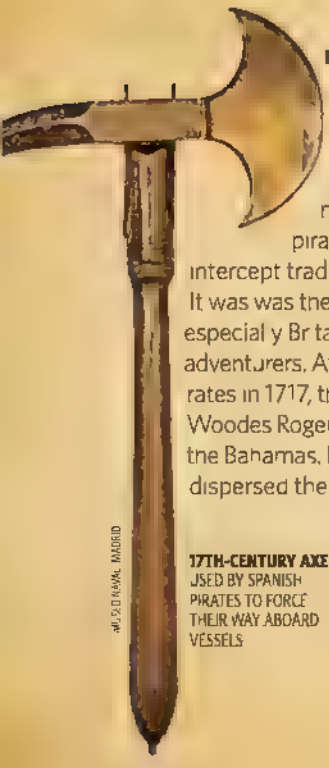
Piracy thrived in places where crews could lie low and repair their ships, which is why the Caribbean, dotted with hidden coves and uninhabited islands, became the preferred location. Larger pirate hideouts soon took root within established harbors, where ringleaders could recruit men and enjoy their booty, such as the island of Tortuga, just off the coast of Hispaniola. Later, Tortuga was succeeded by Port Royal, Jamaica's main port. Described as the "most wicked and sinful city in the world," Port Royal was devastated by an earthquake in 1692.

The principal center during the golden age was Nassau, now the capital of the Bahamas. After the English governor lost control of the port, a powerful pirate republic grew up there, funded by the loot brought back by the great pirates of the

A PIRATE'S LAST STAND
THIS 1718 OIL PAINTING DEPICTS THE NOTORIOUS BLACKBEARD BEFORE HIS DEATH AT THE HANDS OF LT. ROBERT MAYNARD'S FORCES.

CORBIS/EDIDON PRESS

END OF AN ERA



17TH-CENTURY AXE USED BY SPANISH PIRATES TO FORCE THEIR WAY ABOARD VESSELS

MUSEO NAVAL, MADRID

IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES, the main target of piracy was Spanish possessions and fleets. As Spanish power weakened and English, French, and Dutch colonies emerged in the Caribbean, the pirates held firm to their objective: to intercept trade between Europe and America. It was was the national navies of these powers, especially Britain, that managed to finish off the adventurers. After an amnesty was offered to pirates in 1717, the British government appointed Woodes Rogers, a former corsair, as governor of the Bahamas. He led a large fleet to Nassau and dispersed the pirates that had gathered there.

The main players in the golden age of freebooters in the Caribbean then fell one by one, in different circumstances, in the space of a few years.

The Last of Their Kind

BLACKBEARD

Sailing on the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, Edward Teach (Blackbeard), so terrorized Caribbean traders that the governor of Virginia sent a fleet against him commanded by Robert Maynard, who cornered Blackbeard off the coast of North Carolina in 1718. After a crew member cut off Blackbeard's head, Maynard hung it from the bow of his ship.

BLACK BART

A Welsh pirate, Bartholomew Roberts (Black Bart) captained a succession of ships, including the heavily armed *Royal Fortune*. Roberts sacked his way through hundreds of captured vessels, from the Caribbean to the coast of Africa. He was felled by grapeshot fired by a pursuing British Navy ship off Guinea in 1722.

CALICO JACK

Among other exploits, John Rackham (Calico Jack) is credited with the design of the Jolly Roger flag. Operating out of New Providence in the Bahamas on Charles Vane's crew, he was later elected as his replacement. In 1720 he was captured by authorities near Jamaica, hanged, and his body displayed in a gibbet.

BRIDGEMAN/AC

FLYING COLORS PIRATES FLEW THEIR OWN DISTINCTIVE FLAGS BEFORE ATTACKING A SHIP.

PICTURE PERFECT
Idealized in this 19th-century Italian engraving (above), Mary Read and Anne Bonny were notorious in their time as feared members of Calico Jack's pirate crew
ART ARCHIVE

Pirate Queens

ANNE BONNY, AN IRISHWOMAN married to a sailor in the Bahamas, ran a tavern in Nassau, which was frequented by a famous pirate, John Rackham—alias Calico Jack. She became his lover and joined his crew, donning men's clothing during skirmishes. There was another woman aboard the ship: Mary Read, an Englishwoman who dressed as a man to join the army before becoming a pirate in the New World.

BOTH WOMEN SHOWED great physical courage in battle. Later, several crew members were captured by a British force near Jamaica, and Calico Jack was hanged. The two women were spared execution by proving that they were both pregnant. Mary died of a fever in prison, while Anne went back to live with her father, who had since emigrated to South Carolina.

time—men like Benjamin Hornigold, Charles Vane, John Rackham (Calico Jack), Samuel Bellamy (Black Sam), Edward Teach (Blackbeard), and Bartholomew Roberts (Black Bart).

In the second half of the 17th century, frequent pirate sieges were mounted against wealthy cities. Spanish ones, such as Portobello, Cartagena, Havana, and Panama City proved attractive targets and were sacked by pirates. Other attacks happened in North America, such as Blackbeard's successful 1718 siege of Charleston, South Carolina.

Unprotected merchant vessels remained the most common targets. Few ships put up any resistance to pirates. Once aboard, pirates sought out the cargo and treasure and would use intimidation to get it. There were reports of particularly sadistic pirate captains. According to the testimony of several victims, Charles Vane had a predilection for torturing sailors. Edward Low, another pirate from the same period, murdered an entire ship's crew of 32 in 1724 for throwing its cargo overboard before surrendering.

Pirates were happy to seize whatever loot they could: gold, silver, gems, and other valuables were prized, but it was not always treasure that pirates sought. Tobacco, sugar, and cocoa were profitable commodities. During the golden age, goods could be brought to ports and sold to respectable traders from neighboring islands.

All Good Things

The boom in piracy did come to an end. In the early 1700s European nations began to introduce stronger antipiracy laws, increase the number of warships in the area, and offer rewards to those who turned in pirates. In 1717 England offered pirate captains and crews amnesty, threatening those who refused with no mercy if, and when, caught.

Over the following years, the buccaneer captains fell one by one. Black Sam died in a shipwreck in 1717. Blackbeard died fighting the British Navy the next year. Calico Jack was executed in Jamaica in 1720, and Black Bart was killed in the Gulf of Guinea in 1722. What could not be erased was the memory of those freebooting years, the tales of cruelty and valor that live on today in literature, music, and film.

MARÍA LARA MARTÍNEZ
LECTURER OF HISTORY AT MADRID'S UDIMA UNIVERSITY. LARA HAS WRITTEN NUMEROUS BOOKS ON THE MIDDLE AGES AND SPAIN'S IMPERIAL ERA

DEFEATING THE DRAGON

Lured by treasure ships lying at anchor, even Sir Francis Drake—El Draque, "the Dragon," in Spanish—failed to sneak past the formidable defenses of San Felipe del Morro in Puerto Rico. The current structure dates from the 17th and 18th centuries, built to defend against British imperial ambitions.

WERNER BERTSCH/FOTOTECA

New York
Philadelphia
Chesapeake Bay
North Carolina
South Carolina
Charleston
St. Augustine
Florida
GULF OF MEXICO
Straits of Florida
Havana
Cuba
Bahia Honda
Isle of Youth
Yucatan Channel
Gulf of Honduras
Honduras
Cayman Islands
Jamaica
Kingston
Eleuthera Island
Nassau
New Providence
Bahamas
Long Island
Windward Passage
Santiago de Cuba
Port-au-Prince
Cartagena
Portobelo
Panama City
Colombia
PACIFIC OCEAN
1 1716 Bellamy travels to Florida to recover treasure from a Spanish shipwreck. He finds 5,000 gold reals
2 1716 He recruits 40 pirates in the Gulf of Honduras. Together they capture a Dutch ship.
3 1716 Bellamy joins other pirates near Cuba, including Hornigold, who puts him in command of the sloop Marianne
4 1716 In the Yucatán Channel, Hornigold and Bellamy capture an English merchant vessel and two Spanish brigantines.
9 1717 In the Windward Passage, Bellamy sights a slave ship, the Whydah, which he chases and boards.
10 1717 Bellamy's crew attack several ships in the Chesapeake Bay, including a 100-ton brigantine.

A PIRATE'S GROWING FLEET

Samuel Bellamy started off small. He grew his fleet by capturing several merchant vessels, each better armed than the last, and with a larger crew.

Canoe
Bellamy first used two 29.5-foot sailing canoes. In Campeche he recruited another 40 men.

Marianne
This 50-ton French sloop was captured in 1716. Bellamy armed it with a formidable 10 cannon.

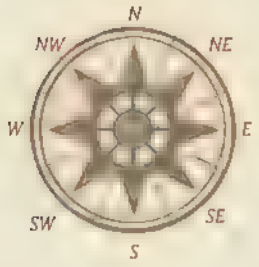
Sultana
Bellamy captured this 200-ton British galley with 26 cannon in 1716. He needed more than 100 men to sail it.

Whydah
A 300-ton slave ship captured in 1717, this ship sank in a nor'easter. Only 2 of the 146 crew members survived.

BLACK SAM'S WATERY GRAVE

ONE OF THE MOST notable characters from the golden age of piracy was Samuel Bellamy, nicknamed Black Sam. He was born in England, enlisted as a sailor at a young age, and left for the New World. In 1716, when he was 27, he decided to go off in search of the treasure lying aboard a Spanish ship that had sunk off the coast of Florida. He set out in a canoe to the Campeche coast of Mexico, where he recruited a small band of pirates. Several months later, he joined forces with Benjamin Hornigold, who put him in charge of the *Marianne*. Bellamy's leadership skills soon led his colleagues to elect him captain. He then began a frenzied series of raids on merchant ships, managing to capture around 50 in little more than a year. In February 1717 he captured the *Whydah*, a slave ship, after firing a single warning shot from his cannon. He sailed the *Whydah* up the American coast until a storm took him by surprise in Cape Cod on April 26, 1717, sending Bellamy, most of his crew, and all of their plunder to Davy Jones's Locker. The wreck was found in 1984, together with the craft's cannon, personal possessions, and the pirates' considerable treasure.

11 1717 A storm wrecks the *Whydah* off Cape Cod. Bellamy dies with almost all his 146-strong crew.



ATLANTIC OCEAN

5 1716 Hiding out in French Hispaniola, the pirates elect Bellamy as their captain instead of Hornigold.

6 1716 With two ships and 170 men, Bellamy sails to the Virgin Islands where he captures the *Sultana*.

in a canoe
aboard the *Marianne*
aboard the *Sultana*
aboard the *Whydah*
The *Whydah*'s route after it was captured by *Bellamy*
Ship captures
Shipwreck

Hispaniola
Santo Domingo
San Juan
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands
St. Thomas
St. Croix
Leeward Islands
Barbuda
Antigua
St. Kitts
Nevis
Montserrat
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbados
Grenada

8 1717 On St. Croix, Bellamy finds 130 runaway pirates who decide to join his crew, swelling his ranks further.

CARIBBEAN SEA

Curaçao
Isla Blanquilla
Isla de Margarita
Isla La Tortuga
Coro
Caracas
Venezuela

7 1716 Over a two-week period, Bellamy and his men repair their ships on the small island of Blanquilla.

CARTOGRAPHY: EDSGIS.COM

RISE OF THE WHITE HOUSE

Architect James Hoban (right) and President George Washington (left) supervise construction on the President's House in this 1932 painting by N. C. Wyeth. Hoban's plans (opposite) were Washington's choice during the selection process for the building's design.

LEFT: THE WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION; RIGHT: GRANGER/BRIDGEMAN

BUILDING THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE

It is difficult to imagine a city other than Washington, D.C., as the United States capital, but in the 18th century, many Americans objected to George Washington's selection of this rural spot. He believed the new nation would grow best here, anchored by its impressive first structures, including the President's House.

A HOUSE BY MANY OTHER NAMES

THE WHITE HOUSE first acquired its nickname early in its history. In 1798 it was covered with a lime-based whitewash to protect the porous stone walls from cold winter elements. In 1818 the house would receive its first coat of white paint. At various times in history, the house had several different names, including President's Palace and President's House. "Executive Mansion" was the official title for the house on its stationery and in government documents until the 20th century. In 1901 President Theodore Roosevelt changed that. Roosevelt believed "White House" was a more appropriate name and made it the official moniker of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

THE FIRST ROOSEVELT

After the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt succeeded him, becoming the youngest sitting president of the United States.

GRANGER/ALBUM

Few realize that the United States' capital was designed amid controversy. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and others wanted the capital to be located in a northern commercial center. Southern leaders proposed that the federal city be built in an agricultural region to avoid concentrating financial and political power. Businessmen in Philadelphia and New York sought to lure the president by building great residences for him, but George Washington selected a site currently located between Virginia and Maryland on the Potomac River. He believed that the location would be the seed for a great capital city, the equal of Paris or London.

Congress authorized the location of this new capital in the 1790 Residence Act, which required that by the year 1800 the federal government—the president, Congress, and the Supreme Court—relocate from its current location in Philadelphia to the city that would be named Washington. At that time, there were to be two public buildings ready for occupancy, a "House for the President" and a "House for the Congress." The president commissioned French-born architect and engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who had fought on the side of the Americans in the Revolution, to design the capital city, the U.S. Capitol, and the President's House.

THE WHITE HOUSE IS BORN

1791

To appease northern and southern interests, President George Washington selects the site for the capital city that is neither in the urban North nor the agrarian South

GRANGER/GORDON PRESS

PIERRE L'ENFANT, THE FIRST WHITE HOUSE ARCHITECT, WITH GEORGE WASHINGTON (LEFT)

1792

Pierre L'Enfant, designer of the original city plan of Washington, D.C., falls out of political favor and loses his post. A contest for a new architect is held, and James Hoban's design is selected.

A Winning Plan

In L'Enfant's city plan, both the President's House and the Capitol were to be located at the cardinal points of the city. His original plan proposed that the executive mansion be four times larger than the house that would eventually be built. It would be built on a ridge with a beautiful view overlooking the Potomac toward Mount Vernon, George Washington's home.

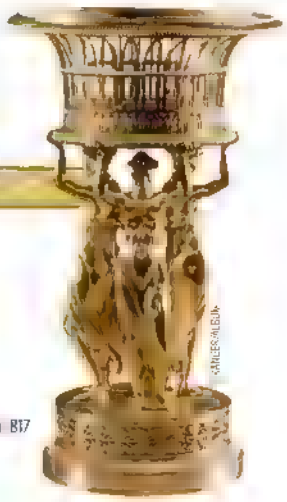
But L'Enfant had a falling out with the president's commissioners that led to his dismissal in February 1792 before he had completed plans for the Capitol and President's House. At Washington's request, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson announced an architectural competition to produce design drawings for the President's House. On July 16 President Washington examined at least six designs submitted in the competition. James Hoban, an Irishman whom the president had met a year earlier in Charleston, won the contest.

The design for the President's House was not finalized until a year after the competition had ended, although the foundation work had begun based on L'Enfant's original designs. Historians do not know the extent of Hoban's consultation with Washington, but the president did participate in the drafting process. The result was the White House, an Irish Georgian–style mansion modeled after Leinster House, which

A HOME FOR CONGRESS

The Capitol building (above), shown here in the mid 19th century, was one of the first government structures built in Washington, D.C. Its cornerstone was laid in 1793

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/BRIDGEMAN/MC



1792–1800

The cornerstone of the President's House is laid in October 1792, and construction officially begins. Laborers work on the house for eight years before it is ready for occupation.

1800

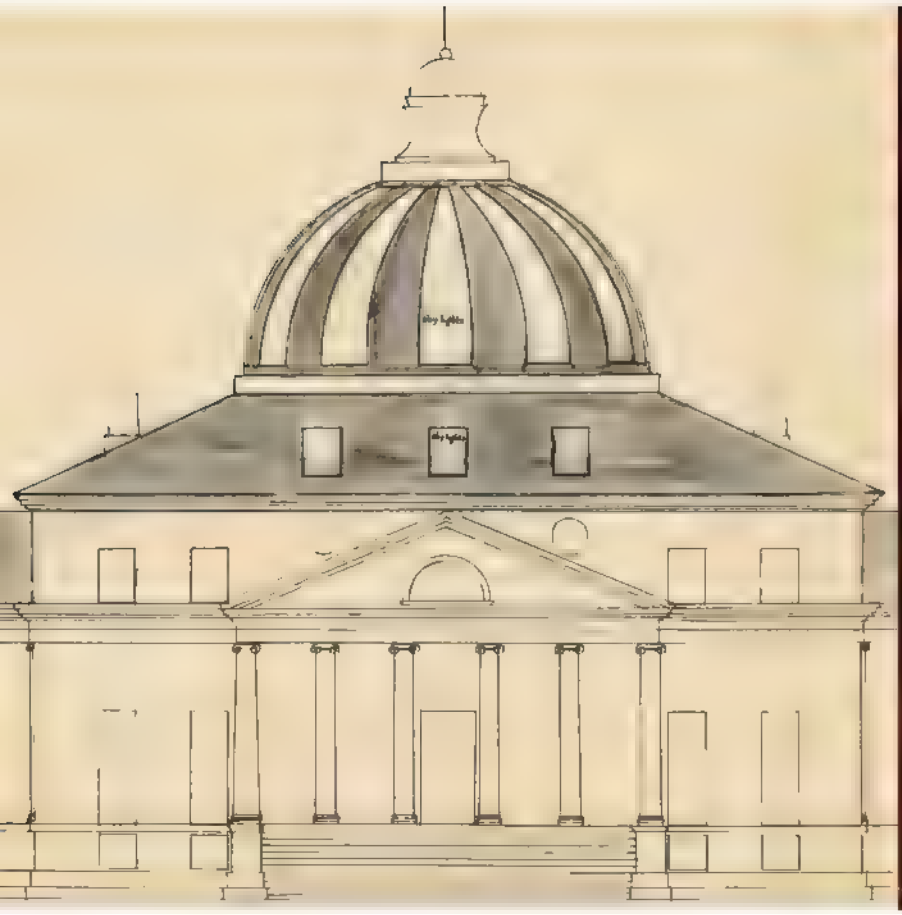
President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, move into the six habitable rooms in November as construction on the President's House continues. They lived there for just four months.

1803

Architect Benjamin Latrobe, appointed by President Thomas Jefferson, begins new improvements to the White House, including adding a grand staircase and repairing a leaky roof

BRONZE FRUIT BASKET, COMMISSIONED BY PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE, N. 817

CHRISTIE'S/ALBUM



THE ANONYMOUS ARCHITECT

DURING THE CONTEST in 1792 to determine who would design the President's House, a mysterious candidate submitted a plan of a Palladian villa. The designer did not give his or her full name with the entry. The unknown architect was identified only by the initials "A. Z." Centuries later, the true identity remains elusive. Known for his love of architecture, Thomas Jefferson became a popular suspect among many historians as the design resembles other buildings of Jefferson's. Other historians speculate that the candidate, who took second place in the contest, was a builder from Richmond, Virginia, named John Collins.

MYSTERY ENTRANT

An anonymous architect's plans (above) were one of the six entries in the contest to select the White House architect. This design, which came in second place, featured four porticoes around a central dome.

GRANGER/CORBIS/PRESS

still stands in Dublin, Ireland. Through several major renovations and threats to move it, the house endured to become the symbol of the American presidency.

Breaking Ground

Hoban was hired as the superintendent not only for the White House but also for other public buildings. On the morning of July 19, 1792, three volunteer commissioners that Washington had appointed to oversee the building of the federal city—Daniel Carroll, Thomas Johnson, and David Stuart—watched Hoban stake out the foundations of the President's House. He had trouble doing so, as L'Enfant's plan called for a much larger palace; the cellars already dug out swallowed up the footprint of Hoban's house. Hoban and the commissioners left it up to George Washington, the former surveyor, to locate the north wall. He placed it exactly where L'Enfant had planned. Hoban made the adjustments and directed laying out the wall foundations from a post designated by Washington that indicated the center of the North Front door.

Washington's Way

Although Hoban was the architect, Washington oversaw construction of the house while serving his two terms as president in New York and Philadelphia. He insisted that the President's House be built of stone and embellished with extensive stone ornamentation. A quarry at Aquia Creek 40 miles down the Potomac from the site proved to be convenient. The creek was navigable from a quarry dock up to a wharf near the building site. The building material was sandstone (called "freestone" because it was so easy to quarry), which was porous and susceptible to cracking in freezing weather.

Scottish stonemasons whitewashed the building in 1798 to protect the stone, leading to its being called the White House. Washington requested alterations to the original design, adding the distinctive rose and acorn carved stone embellishments and cutting the building's height. Hoban's original design called for two stories over a raised walkout basement, but some thought the house was too large. There was also a question of whether the sandstone

supply would last. Stone was needed to build the Capitol as well. Washington agreed that the President's House could be reduced to two stories by eliminating the raised basement. As Washington said, the President's House and the other government buildings "ought to be upon a scale far superior to anything in this Country" and predicted that one day the original house would not be large enough. Luckily Washington understood that the design was basic enough to enable future presidents to make additions.

The Men Behind the House

Spread out over what is today Lafayette Square and the North Lawn of the White House were brickyards and kilns, the carpenters' hall, storehouses, the cookhouse, and the stonecutters' lodges. On the South Lawn were a sawmill and at least one pit for tempering bricks. There were several pits for sawing logs—one man standing above and another in the hole, sawing the log with a long saw in between. Sawyers listed on government payrolls such as "Jerry," "Charles," "Len," "Dick," "Bill," and "Jim" were black laborers hired from their masters. Experienced carpenters and master stonemasons were rare in America, so most of the skilled builders were Scots, Irish, and English.

The D.C. commissioners, charged by Congress with building the new city, initially planned to import workers from Europe. Response to recruitment was dismal, but they found good hands among African Americans—enslaved and free—to increase the labor force that built the White House, U.S. Capitol, and other early government buildings.

Labor disputes and arguments over pay with

Today the White House requires 570 gallons of paint to cover its exterior walls.

INTRICATE CARVINGS FRAME THE DOORS OF THE NORTH PORTICO.

IMAGE DIVIDE BY IMAGES

IRISH INSPIRATION

James Hoban modeled the President's House after Dublin's Leinster House (above), which today houses the National Parliament of Ireland

ALAMY/AC

BE[illegible]

THE VANISHING CORNERSTONE

THE WHITE HOUSE cornerstone was laid on October 13, 1792. Topped with a brass plate engraved with the names of dignitaries, the stone was laid in the wet mortar, where the date was written. It was the last time anyone ever laid eyes on it. During the extensive renovation of 1949, Army Engineers attempted unsuccessfully to find the brass plate with a mine detector. When the 200th anniversary of the construction was commemorated in 1992, the search for the cornerstone was intensified. X-ray machines were brought in to image the stone walls with short waves, but the effort yielded nothing but gauzy reflections.

WORKMEN REPLACE WINDOWS AS PART OF THE 1949-1952 RENOVATION DURING PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

artisans were common. Four stonecutters threatened Hoban, and he asked the constable for protection. The toughs were run out of town. Vice became a concern as the hardworking men reveled in gambling and drunkenness. When Betsy Donohue, the wife of one of the carpenters, opened a house of "riotous and disorderly" conduct, she was fined but by no means shut down. Her house, which was owned by Hoban, was moved and reopened off the public land. A routine developed in the workmen's village that grew up around the White House during its construction. Sunday was a day for hunting and fishing or perhaps taking a coach ride to big-city Baltimore to spend the week's wages.

The First First Family

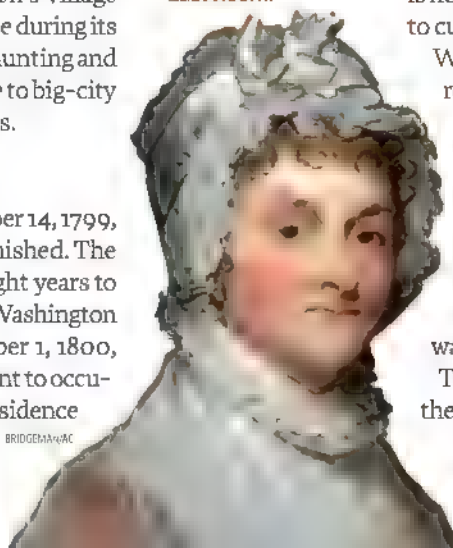
George Washington died on December 14, 1799, before the President's House was finished. The building begun in 1792 had taken eight years to be ready to house the president, but Washington would not live to see it. On November 1, 1800, John Adams became the first president to occupy the building, as required by the Residence Act, but he lived there just four months before he lost office. Abigail Adams arrived two weeks after her husband, getting lost several times on the unmarked roads. The house was intensely cold and damp during the winter of 1800–1801; fires in the fireplaces barely heated the six habitable rooms. Abigail Adams complained in a letter on November 21, 1800: "I could content myself almost anywhere three months; but surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had because people cannot be found to cut and cart it?"

When the Adamses moved in, the biggest room on the first floor, or State Floor, was the unfinished East Room, which occupied the entire east end of the building and was intended as an audience room for public events. An unfinished oval room (what is now the Blue Room) was at the center of the plan to facilitate public receptions where guests traditionally stood in a circle waiting to greet the president.

The rooms readied for the Adams family on the State Floor were a levee room in the south-

THE FIRST LADY MOVES IN

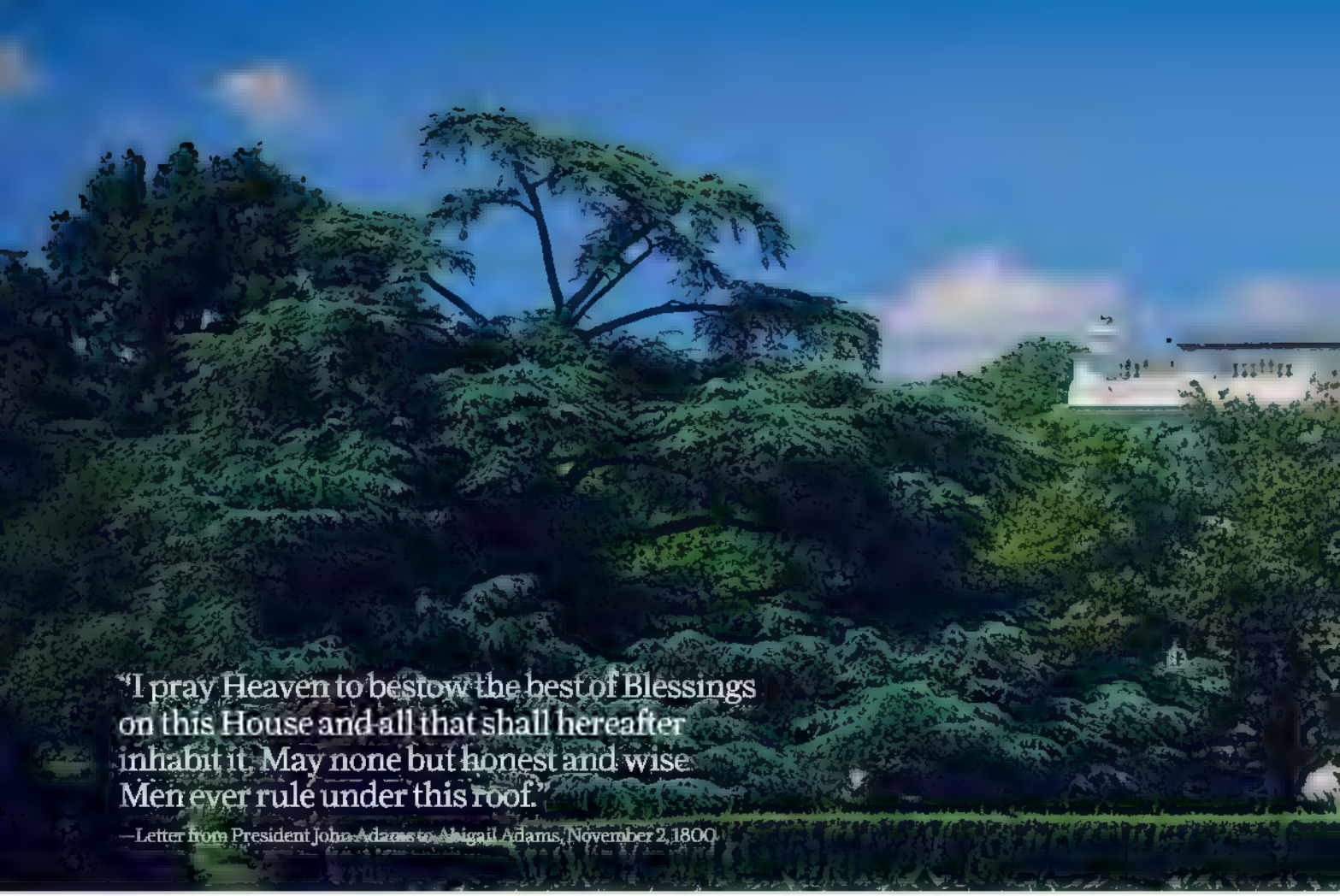
Abigail Adams (below) was the first first lady to live in the White House. She lived there for four months, during which time she hung her laundry to dry in the unfinished East Room.



BRIDGEMAN/AC

THE BLUE ROOM

This oval-shaped room sits on the first floor of the White House. For most of the house's history, it has served as a formal receiving room for the president's guests.



"I pray Heaven to bestow the best of Blessings on this House and all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise Men ever rule under this roof."

—Letter from President John Adams to Abigail Adams, November 2, 1800

THE FIRST INHABITANT

The second president of the United States, John Adams was the first to live in the White House. In November 1800, he moved in, even though construction was incomplete

BRIDGEMAN/IMAGES

west corner, a dining room in the northwest corner, and a breakfast room (now the Red Room). On the west end of the second floor—the family floor—there were bedrooms for the president and the first lady, their young granddaughter Susanna, and an office for the president and his secretary, William Smith Shaw. But the Adams family did not live there very long. After a bitter defeat in the 1800 presidential election, Adams left Washington in the early hours of the morning of Thomas Jefferson's inaugural on March 4, 1801, skipping the ceremony. Abigail Adams had departed weeks earlier to prepare their home in Quincy, Massachusetts, and was not sorry to leave Washington.

Respect for Tradition

The third president of the United States detested the formal etiquette of Adams's party, the Federalists, although Jefferson's lifestyle and tastes were anything but simple. He immediately sold off President Adams's seven-horse stable, the silver-trimmed harnesses, and two carriages bought with funds intended for household furnishings. He preferred to travel on horseback and kept only a market cart. Jefferson ended the great public receptions, and turned the State Dining Room, where they had been held, into his office. He erected a post-and-rail fence around the house and established the main entrance on the north side, demolishing the temporary wooden south entrance stairs.

Jefferson appointed architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe as the surveyor of public buildings in 1803 and put him in charge of any improvements to the President's House. Latrobe, born in England to an American mother and an English father, had practiced in the United States for seven years. Like Jefferson, he was multilingual and an accomplished musician. They shared an intense interest in architecture, science, invention, philosophy, and religion. For six years under Jefferson, Latrobe worked at the President's House, completing repairs to a badly leaking roof, installing a grand staircase, solving a drainage problem, constructing water

closets, landscaping the grounds, and designing classical east and west colonnades, which still remain today.

Jefferson often contributed to Latrobe's designs and occasionally caused the architect some annoyance. Of Jefferson's ideas for adding wings to the White House, Latrobe wrote, "I am sorry that I am cramped in this design by his prejudices in favor of the old French books, out of which he fishes everything." Latrobe was contemptuous of his rival, Irish architect/builder James Hoban, continuing in his letter to construction supervisor John Lenthall that the colonnade collaboration was "exactly consistent with Hoban's pile—a litter of pigs worthy of the great Sow it surrounds, & the Irish boar, the father of her." Latrobe mistakenly addressed the letter to Jefferson, but the gentlemanly president returned it to him, saying he had not read it.

Jefferson also improved the presidential grounds from a barren site that had been left after construction of the White House. With the wing additions, built for domestic use, he separated the upper and lower lawns of the site and made an official entrance on the north. He began a stone wall around the house, planted trees and flower gardens, and built graveled driveways.

Renovations did not always go smoothly. Jefferson planned an arched carriage gate, designed by Latrobe, at the center of the East Wing, but the work was delayed and the mortar would not set in the winter cold. In the spring, the supporting timbers were removed and the stone arch toppled to the ground. The ruins were quietly taken away, leaving a vacant space and an East Wing with two parts for many years.

Despite all his tweaks, Jefferson did not change the appearance of the house substantially. Although this was not the residence that he would have built himself, he recognized it as part of George Washington's legacy and saw the need for continuity. Sensitivity to this sort of symbolism was to characterize the presidents who lived in the White House from that time on. ■

NOEL GROVE, WILLIAM B. BUSHONG, AND JOEL D. TREESE
GROVE, BUSHONG, AND TREESE ARE CO-AUTHORS OF *INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE: STORIES FROM THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS RESIDENCE* (NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, 2013), FROM WHICH PORTIONS OF THIS STORY ARE EXCERPTED.

JEFFERSON'S VISION

President Thomas Jefferson made plans to improve the White House grounds, including planting trees, adding gardens, and leveling the grade of the South Lawn (above)

PANORAMIC IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

THE PLAN AND

L'Enfant's Plan

In the United States and around the world, the White House has come to symbolize the presidency and American leadership. In 1790 Congress passed the Residence Act. This established a permanent national capital on the Potomac River. The federal government—the president, Congress, and the Supreme Court—would relocate in 1800 from its temporary home in Philadelphia to its permanent home. Congress authorized President Washington (1789–1797) to select the site for the capital. From a ten-mile-square area on the east bank of the Potomac River, a French engineer and architect, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, planned the city streets of the new capital, and Washington himself selected the location for the President's House. L'Enfant set aside an approximately 80-acre park where he proposed to build a presidential "palace."

L'ENFANT'S ORIGINAL 1791 PLAN, AS ANNOTATED BY THE UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY OFFICE, 1887

WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THEN AND NOW

❶ Until the late 1800s, the banks of the Potomac River were much closer to the White House than they are today. Heavy flooding in 1881 prompted a large infill project that created today's Potomac Park and Tidal Basin. ❷ This area was designed to be the site of a vast presidential "palace," to be built on a ridge overlooking the Potomac River, with large surrounding grounds. ❸ L'Enfant's plan included a "Grand Avenue" 400 feet in width extending due west from the "Congress House"; this would eventually become the National Mall. ❹ At the western end, L'Enfant envisioned a monument of the equestrian figure of George Washington. The Washington Monument is now located near this site. ❺ Per L'Enfant's plan, what had been Tiber Creek was turned into part of the

THE REALITY

James Hoban's White House Design

James Hoban (ca 1762–1831) rose from journeyman carpenter and wheelwright to become the architect of the world's most famous house. Born in Ireland, he studied at the Dublin Society's drawing school under Thomas Ivory, an advocate of the Georgian neoclassical style. He immigrated to the United States about 1785 and became well known in South Carolina for his ability as an architect and builder. George Washington selected his proposed design for the President's House in 1792. The White House image famous throughout the world is Hoban's, inspired by Irish Georgian–style country houses, notably Dublin's Leinster House.

JAMES HOBAN, WAX BAS-RELIEF LIKENESS

Washington Canal, with a towpath for transporting supplies. Later deemed a health hazard, the canal was filled in by 1872; today, Constitution Avenue runs on top of the former waterway. ❻ The broad diagonal avenue running 1.2 miles between the President's House and Congress House became known as Pennsylvania Avenue, and was one of the first roads constructed in the city. This stretch is now the site of presidential Inauguration and funeral parades, and other public events. ❼ The south wing of the Treasury Building –constructed from 1855 to 1860– blocks the view from the White House to the Capitol, deviating from L'Enfant's vision of a "splendid avenue without obstruction." ❽ Increased security following the 1995 Oklahoma City bombings and September 11, 2001, attacks led to Pennsylvania Avenue being permanently closed to vehicular traffic in the area around the White House. ■

The Enigma of the Taklimakan Mummies

Beneath the Taklimakan Desert in northern China, archaeologists uncovered an amazing find: centuries-old mummies whose perfectly preserved features don't resemble those of today's inhabitants. Science and archaeology combine to find out the origins of these ancient people.

PANORAMA MEDIA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Lying in the huge Tarim Basin depression in northern China, the Taklimakan Desert is one of the most inhospitable places on Earth. Its name in the Uygur language means "those who enter never leave."

The Swedish traveler and geographer Sven Hedin was one of the first Westerners to brave its sandy wastes. On March 28, 1900, Hedin spotted the remains of wooden houses on a knoll. He managed to dig up a few coins and some ancient Chinese utensils. A ferocious sandstorm then interrupted his work, and he had to find shelter. When the storm abated, the explorer saw that the wind had uncovered a city of brick buildings. Hedin identified the site as Loulan, a once prosperous oasis city on the trade route known as the Silk Road that had once connected Asia with Europe.

Among the most striking of the Taklimakan relics were a large number of mummified remains. One of the first to be found was discovered by Hedin himself in 1915. The extreme arid desert conditions had preserved the body in a kind of time capsule. Hedin recorded: "The individual's skin was stuck to his body, and the smell emanating from him was still acrid." The mummies stood out for another reason, one that fascinated Hedin and other researchers ever since: Their physical features looked clearly Caucasian or European and not Asian.

Who Lived at Loulan?

After Hedin, other explorers were drawn to the region. Following the removal of many thousands of relics to European museums, in the 1930s the Chinese authorities banned foreigners from undertaking any archaeological activity in the area. Large-scale archaeological activity ceased until 1979, when joint Chinese-Japanese expeditions made astonishing discoveries in oasis towns on the Silk Road such as Niya (Minfeng) and Cherchen (Qiemo).

One of the most spectacular finds was made in Loulan in 1980. A group of Chinese archaeologists uncovered the perfectly preserved

OAR DISCOVERED IN THE XIAOHE TOMB COMPLEX
AKG/ALBUM

1915
Sven Hedin discovers the extraordinarily well preserved mummy of a man bearing strikingly Caucasian features

1980
Chinese archaeologists find the mummy they name the Loulan Beauty and, five years later, Cherchen Man.

2003–05
Archaeologists find a large cache of mummies buried in the Xiaohe Tomb Complex, many with their clothes intact

2015
DNA analysis by China's Jilin University concludes the region was populated by peoples of Siberian and European origins.

body of a woman from 3,800 years ago, naming her the Loulan Beauty for her striking facial features. Hers was the most high-profile find among a set of bodies with Caucasian features found in the area. Like her, all had been impeccably preserved beneath the sands.

In 1985, in Cherchen, the mummy of a man was exhumed. Cherchen Man, as he was soon nicknamed, was later dated to around 1000 B.C. Near him were also found three female mummies and a boy. All the specimens are exceptionally well preserved, especially Cherchen Man, whose tattoos are still clearly visible on his skin.

Mummies continued to be unearthed throughout the 1990s, including Yingpan Man, a 2,000-year-old, tall mummy with a gold leaf

A LIFE DEVOTED TO EXPLORING ASIA

THE SWEDISH GEOGRAPHER Sven Hedin was the emblematic European explorer of the end of the 19th century. He spent most of his life traveling through almost unknown regions. Having traversed the Central Asian deserts—where he stumbled on Loulan in 1900—Hedin discovered the sources of the Indus and Brahmaputra Rivers five years later. He also reached the city of Lhasa in Tibet, but he could not enter because foreigners were prohibited.

SLEEPING BEAUTY preserved for all time in the dry [illegible] wastes of the Taklimakan Desert, the Xiaohe Princess [illegible] nearly 4,000 years after her discovery during the excavation of the Xiaohe Tomb Complex, carried out from 2003 to 2005.

[illegible]

Faces from the Deepest Past

THE SETTLEMENTS of the Taklimakan Desert left behind numerous mummies preserved by the dry climate. Some of the most striking examples are on display in the Museum of Ethnic Minorities in China's northwestern city of Ürümqi

YINGPAN MAN WEARING A MASK

IAIN MASTERTON/AG

Cherchen Man

Found in Cherchen, this mummy is a man who died around the age of 55, and who stood nearly six feet tall. His legs were bent, his skin elaborately tattooed and he was wearing wool en garments.

Mummy of a Boy

Found beside Cherchen Man, this small child was wrapped in woolen fabric and buried with a sheepskin bottle. It is thought to be the oldest known feeding bottle in the world

Loulan Beauty

Aged 40 to 45, and just over five feet tall, she is one of the oldest mummies She was found in Loulan wearing sheepskin clothes and shoes, and a hat decorated with goose feathers

PHOTOS: REZA/NEBISTAN

funerary mask, red and brown clothes, and notably Caucasian facial features.

Between 2003 and 2005, archaeologists made another spectacular discovery at the Xiaohe Tomb Complex, 100 miles west of Loulan. Boat-shaped coffins there contained the oldest mummies yet found in the region, dating back almost 4,000 years. Among these was the Xiaohe Princess, a woman whose facial features are stunningly clear, and who still sports a mane of hair and eyelashes.

East and West

The Taklimakan mummies have certain physical features in common: Most are tall, blonde, and redheaded with high cheekbones, a prominent nose, and, in some cases, blue eyes—in contrast to the traits typical of modern-day East Asian populations.

One of the scientists who has dedicated many decades to studying them is Victor Mair, of the University of Pennsylvania. Having analyzed DNA from some of the mummies, Mair has concluded that the region's sole inhabitants, between 2100 and 1000 B.C., were people with European features. At the end of this period—around 3,000 years ago—East Asian peoples started to appear in the region.

One theory currently put forward is that the mummies belonged to the tribe known as the Tocharians, a people of Caucasian origin, whose culture dominated the Tarim Basin, and whose physical traits are mentioned in ancient Chinese chronicles. From the seventh century A.D., the Tocharians were absorbed by the Uygur tribes who settled in the region, and are of Turkic origin.

Today, Uygur separatists strongly identify with the mummies. Their non-Asian features are cited in the Uygur nationalists' argument that the region should not be part of a China. The political sensitivity surrounding the mummies has been such that China has only authorized genetic studies in recent years. In 2010 DNA analysis undertaken by Chinese researchers suggested that, by the early Bronze Age, the region was populated by peoples from both East and West.

In 2015 a team led by Chunxiang Li, an ancient DNA specialist from China's Jilin University, concluded that the mummies' ancestors had come from southern Siberia and Europe. Until climatic conditions turned it into an inhospitable desert, the Tarim Basin was a place where diverse peoples met and prospered.

—Pedro A. Fernández

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Next Issue

HAMILTON: RISE TO GREATNESS

YOUNG, BRILLIANT, and brash—Alexander Hamilton was America's first self-made man. Before becoming a war hero, a Founding Father, and the first secretary of the treasury, Hamilton overcame the stigma of illegitimacy and poverty through sheer will and innate genius. The harsh conditions of his childhood in Nevis, a tiny island in the Caribbean, make his life's accomplishments more impressive by revealing how much this remarkable man had to overcome to leave his mark on the world.

ALAMY/ACI

Birth of an Empire

In the days following the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., Rome's elite vied for control of the capital, a struggle that would scar the empire forever.

Caterina Sforza: Warrior Princess

A central player in the political turmoil and artistic ferment of the Renaissance, the beautiful Italian noblewoman personally led her troops against the vengeful Borgia family.

Numbers on the Nile

Long before Pythagoras in Greece, ancient Egyptians were developing complex mathematical solutions to count their wealth, tax their citizens, and build the pyramids.

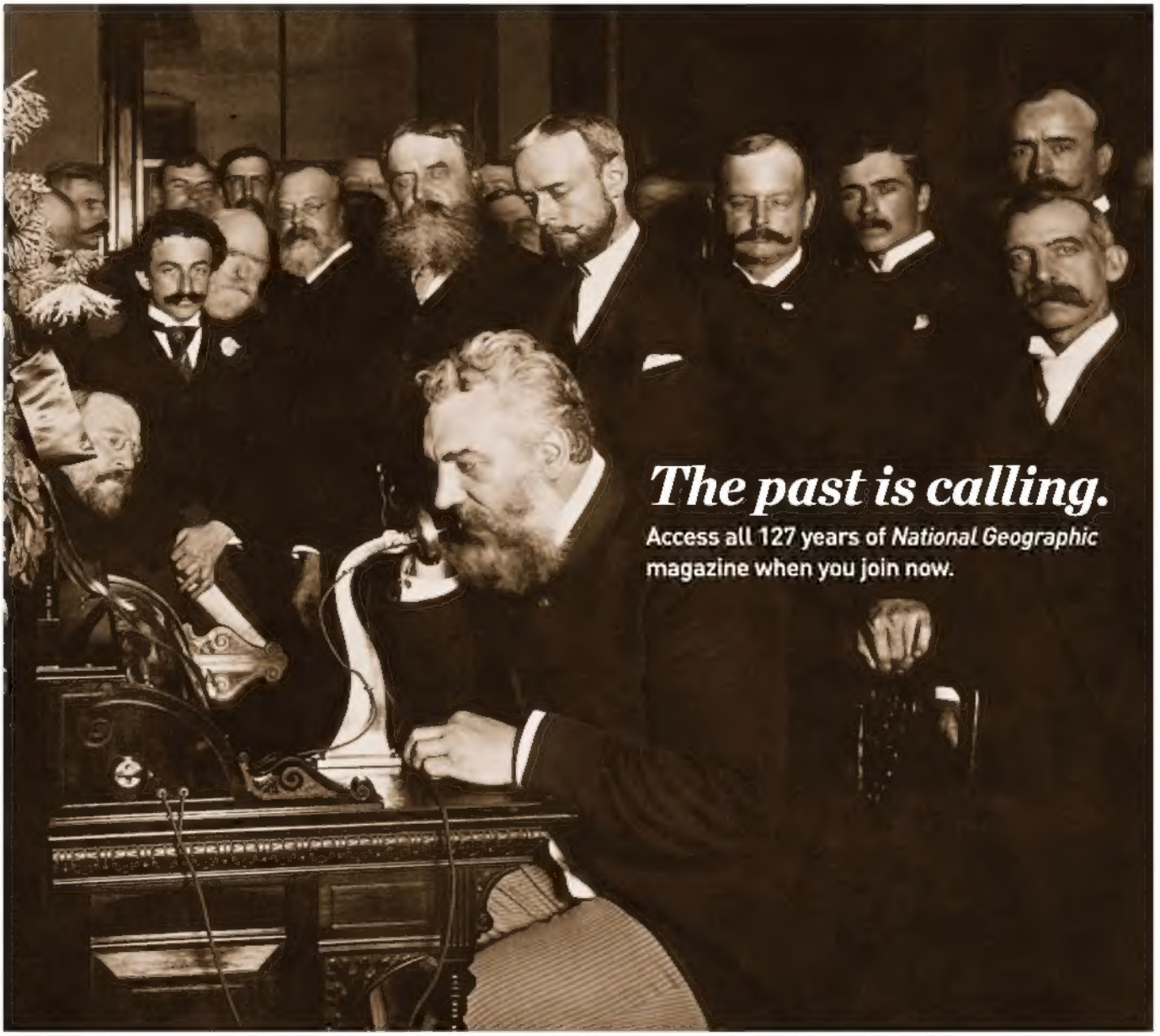
The Last Days of the Aztec

In just two years, the Aztec Empire was utterly destroyed by the conquistador Hernán Cortés, whose diplomacy and ruthlessness opened up the New World to Spanish rule.

TOMBS OF UR: SPLENDOR AND HORROR

IN 1922 Leonard Woolley began digging at the site of Ur, in modern-day Iraq, the ancient city believed to be the birthplace of Abraham. The graves he found yielded not only artifacts such as this bull carved on a harp but also chilling clues about Sumerian burial rites. The royal tombs contained not only the kings of Ur but also the remains of soldiers and women, entombed alive with their deceased sovereigns.

PHOTOAISA



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Think You're Having a Bad Day?
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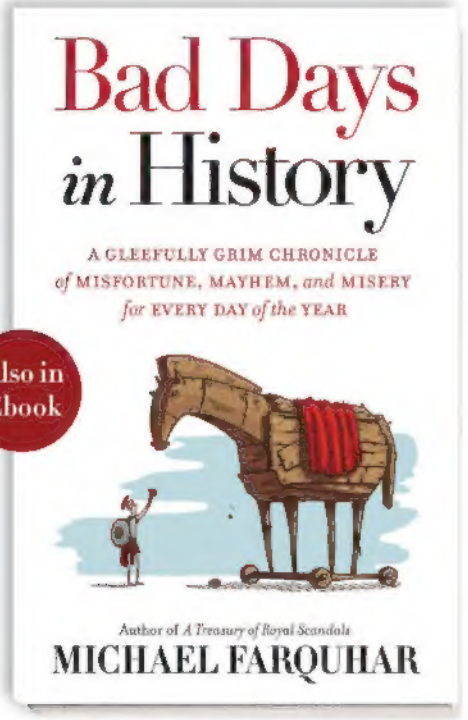
JULY 1, 1916 No Day at the Beach: In the Jaws of Death.

Charles Epting Vansant became an unwitting American original, in a most horrific way: he was the first to succumb to a shark attack in the nontropical waters of the continental United States.

JANUARY 1 Crappy New Year!

Fifth-century monk and martyr Telemachus stepped into the middle of a gladiatorial fight in Rome and tried to stop the human slaughter, only to be stoned to death by the bloodthirsty audience unappreciative of the effort.



History is full of struggle and triumph, determination and discovery, courage and revolution, and let's face it—some really, really bad days. In this wickedly entertaining book, best-selling author and historian Michael Farquhar chronicles the worst of the worst for each day of the year. The mishaps range from eyebrow raising to world changing—think Vegas hotelier Steve Wynn's unfortunate run-in with a priceless Picasso to Napoleon's frost-ridden, troop-depleting defeat in Russia.

For anyone who's had a rough time, this charming romp through history's gloomier side will be grand company.

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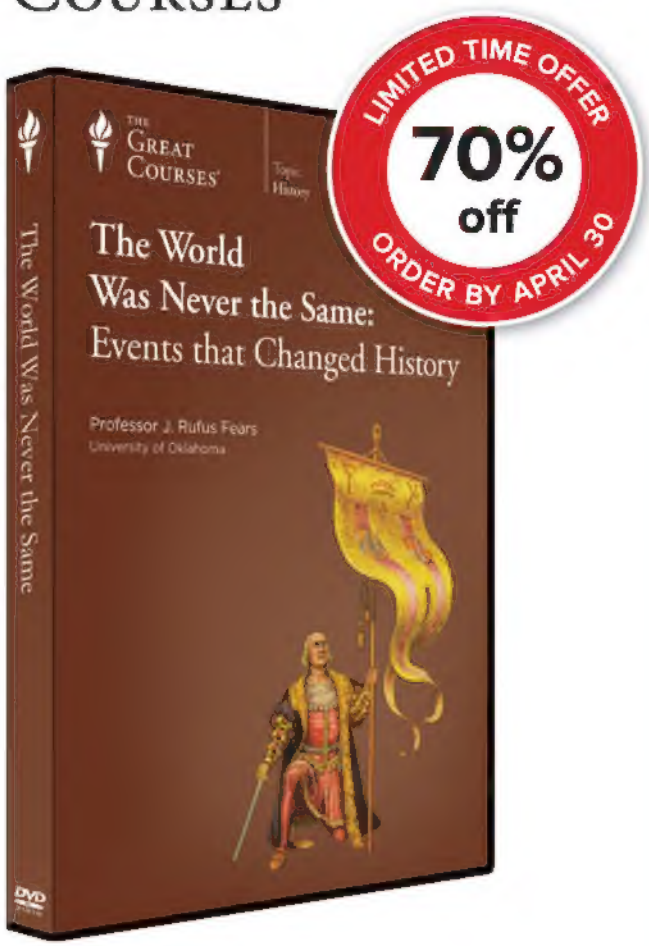
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5. Solon—Democracy Begins (594 B.C.)
6. Marathon—Democracy Triumphant (490 B.C.)
7. Hippocrates Takes an Oath (430 B.C.)
8. Caesar Crosses the Rubicon (49 B.C.)
9. Jesus—The Trial of a Teacher (A.D. 36)
10. Constantine I Wins a Battle (A.D. 312)
11. Muhammad Moves to Medina—The Hegira (A.D. 622)
12. Bologna Gets a University (1088)
13. Dante Sees Beatrice (1283)
14. Black Death—Pandemics and History (1348)
15. Columbus Finds a New World (1492)
16. Michelangelo Accepts a Commission (1508)
17. Erasmus—A Book Sets Europe Ablaze (1516)
18. Luther's New Course Changes History (1517)
19. The Defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588)
20. The Battle of Vienna (1683)
21. The Battle of Lexington (1775)
22. General Pickett Leads a Charge (1863)
23. Adam Smith (1776) versus Karl Marx (1867)
24. Charles Darwin Takes an Ocean Voyage (1831)
25. Louis Pasteur Cures a Child (1885)
26. Two Brothers Take a Flight (1903)
27. The Archduke Makes a State Visit (1914)
28. One Night in Petrograd (1917)
29. The Day the Stock Market Crashed (1929)
30. Hitler Becomes Chancellor of Germany (1933)
31. Franklin Roosevelt Becomes President (1933)
32. The Atomic Bomb Is Dropped (1945)
33. Mao Zedong Begins His Long March (1934)
34. John F. Kennedy Is Assassinated (1963)
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